

**MAKING
MANKIND**

**WISSLER ▲ COLE
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SCHEVILL**

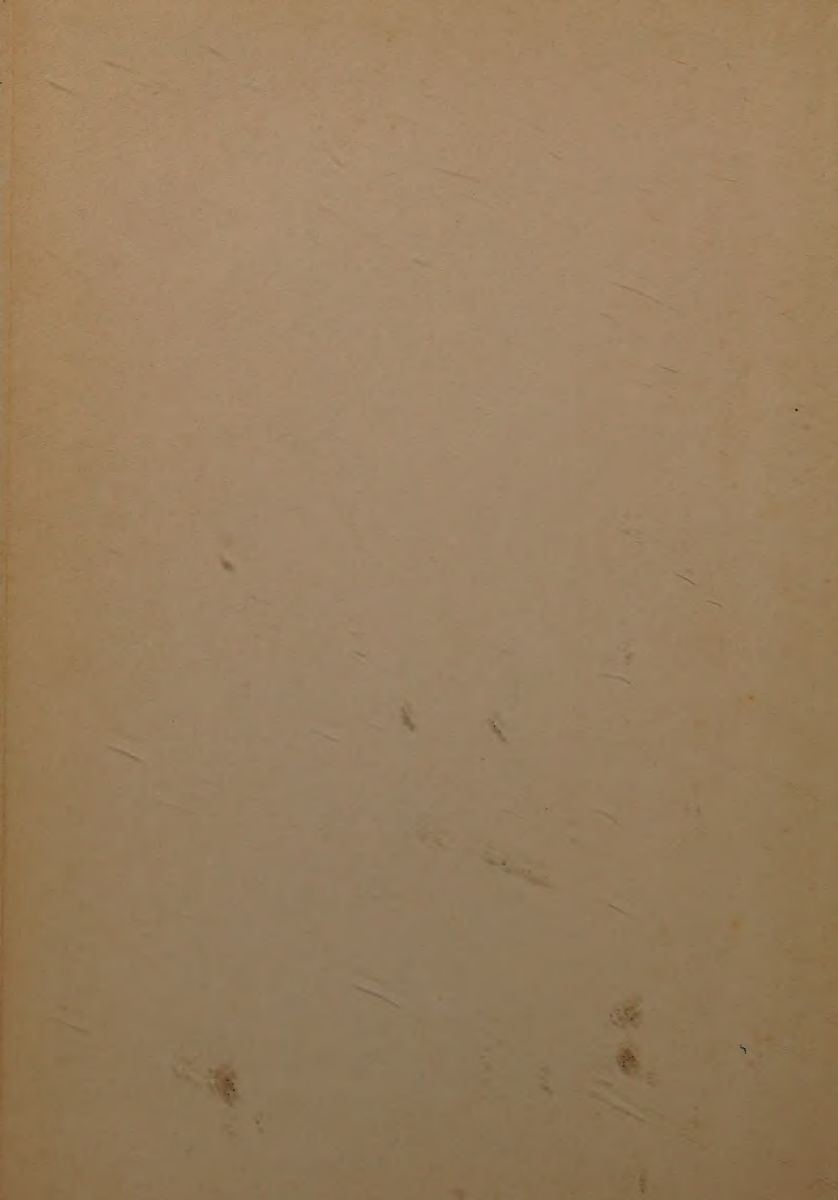


**MAN AND
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VOLUME FOUR**

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MAKING MANKIND





MAN AND HIS WORLD

Northwestern University Essays in Contemporary Thought

Edited by

BAKER BROWNELL

Volume I

A PREFACE TO THE UNIVERSE

Volume II

THE WORLD MECHANISM

Volume III

MIND AND BEHAVIOR

Volume IV

MAKING MANKIND

Volume V

SOCIETY TODAY

Volume VI

SOCIETY TOMORROW

Volume VII

PROBLEMS OF CIVILIZATION

Volume VIII

CIVILIZATION AND ENJOYMENT

Volume IX

ART AND THE WORTH WHILE

Volume X

FIVE ARTS

Volume XI

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Volume XII

THE WORLD MAN LIVES IN

DECORATIONS BY ERVINE METZL

PUBLISHED BY D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK

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- I.—A Preface to the Universe. — Baker Brownell — T. V. Smith — Clarence Darrow — Edwin E. Slosson — W. Lee Lewis.
- II.—The World Mechanism. — W. D. MacMillan — H. W. Shimer — Irving S. Cutter — W. G. Waterman — Austin S. Clark.
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PUBLISHED BY D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, INC., NEW YORK

MAKING MANKIND

BY

CLARK WISSLER

FAY-COOPER COLE

WILLIAM M. McGOVERN

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

FERDINAND SCHEVILL

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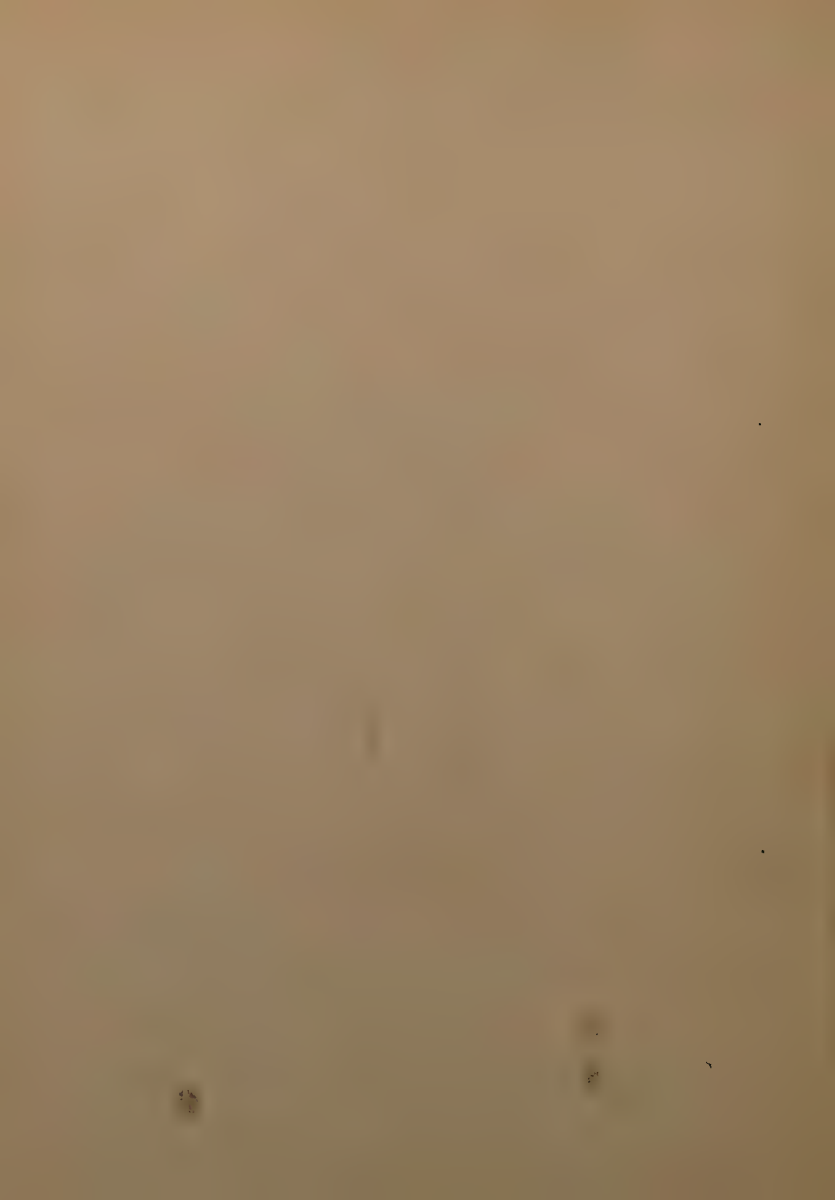
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR	3
THE ORIGIN OF MAN AND HIS RACES <i>Clark Wissler</i>	11
PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES <i>Fay-Cooper Cole</i>	41
THE GROWTH OF INSTITU- TIONS <i>William M. McGovern</i>	73
THE CIVILISATIONS OF PRE- HISTORY <i>Melville J. Herskovits</i>	105
MAN'S POLITICAL HISTORY <i>Ferdinand Schevill</i>	145





MAKING MANKIND





STORMS of living wash over the world, and the burden of them on the earth seems to grow always greater as the centuries go by. With massive urgency the live things of the earth scatter and overrun the continents and invade the seas. Plants and animals, forests, fish, insects, reptiles, birds and beasts and some three billion living things called men appropriate the surface of this globe and every year exploit more completely the earth's resources. On a planet favorable — for the time at least — to those colloidal chemistries named the living process life goes on in new elaborations, and new worlds are building out of the old. For a hundred million years or more the process of living has continuously gone on, and in the natural mechanism of it there are no exceptions; neither man nor mind nor his society, there are no exceptions.

But natural mechanism, after all, is only one way of looking at the world, and though its rule has no exceptions from the scientific point of view, other

attitudes are possible and other aspects of reality may be caught in man's experience that remain just as significant, just as profound. For values are their own approach to things called real; they have their mode of being; and a human world devoid of values would be neither human nor a world. Whatever status they may have within the scientific order, values have a modus of their own that science cannot penetrate and never can explain. For science is distributive in emphasis, objective, and indifferent to the qualitative aspects of the things in man's experience, but value is centripetal, and the world through value is thrown into focus from some central point of view. To man the universe has value from the human aspect and all things in his world take on a quality and significance and bearing in respect to human interests.

Man came with his society out of the ruck of living, and his slow emergence from the competitions and the levels of other living things was never confident nor sure. In a developing environment man himself developed and his fitness to the place that nature made for him was as slow and hesitant a finding as the place was slow in gaining definition. Environments evolve as well as species, and man with all his values and society today comes of reciprocal developments of man and his surroundings. He is a mixture, irrationally compounded, of divers

modes and attitudes. They move along together and the complexities of modern man are more or less coördinate with his complex situation.

Man is an aggregate of realities indeed; his physique, his culture, his environment, his mind, emotions, values, his past and his future all are in the scrimmage that is called mankind, and though in part he is organic, he is in great part aggregative as well. Culturally and physically, socially and materially, in his values and in his behavior man is in part a congeries that comes of varied sources and of unrelated powers. He is paradoxical and shifting; he is throughout a mechanism, yet purposive, and no system of rational relationships ever can define all of his behavior.

Here mankind will be compounded, first by Clark Wissler, from the divers racial stocks, ancient and modern, that are found upon the earth, and their geographies and place upon the globe will be described. Fay-Cooper Cole will then describe man's cultural development and William M. McGovern the growth of human institutions. Melville Herskovits then takes mankind into the time order and traces his prehistorical development down to the first of writing, and Ferdinand Schevill follows with the story of mankind through the period of recorded history and government to this day. Man's story is a half million years long, or even more, but as time

goes it is short enough, too short to guess much as to his future.

Upon the earth tool-using man came gradually, and by his tools, as Doctor Herskovits explains, he adapted his technique of living instead of his physique to the accumulating demands of the environment. Tool-using man came and with his tools of one kind or another built the civilizations of today. Over the earth his cultures and his customs found their long progress. There were diffusions of his culture from a single focus. There were convergences of culture from widely separated and diverse sources. There were similarities of culture here and there where similar environments were sponsoring a kind of psychic unity of mankind's development, and there were other areas where similar environments permitted very different cultures. It was an aggregative process as well as a development, as Doctor Cole suggests, and man and human culture have today numerous sources and a varied history of their distribution.

Behind all the change and shifting of mankind from age to age, from place to place, from old custom and culture to newer ways of living is the law of expanding life. It is a constant force in history, says Professor Schevill; it is a constant push and pressure in prehistoric man, and in all life and all nature the thrust of life goes on. Dynamic restless-

ness drives the world onward and always onward. Races come and go without sure separations, as Doctor Wissler says, and culture areas mature and spread across the different lives and bloods of closely joined peoples.

Unity opposed by freedom, Persia at war with Greece, comes and goes and comes again across the map of time since man first settled there and wrote his history down. Unity and great empire, says Professor Schevill, unity and the individual's repression and a state standardized in all its human parts comes to dominance over life, only to be broken and broken again and again by the free peoples and the urgent restlessness of man. It is a restless world that man has found, filled with problems and with cuts and deep crevasses of old chaos across it.

But man builds on and on his rambling house of life, burning and building, and from the fragments and the wreckage of the past building anew. On man as a significant focus of the universe this series of volumes now will turn, and about the human world of value and practical interest another realm will be developed. For man, in his own interest, is after all the center of the universe, and though Nature never will accept his central status except grudgingly and in a minor way, man himself still will demand it. The growth of civilization and man's values is the slow victory of that demand. He turns nature

to his purpose, and though his winning may be small it is his own. From science, with its naturalistic and objective point of view, to society is a revolutionary transition. From mechanism to value is a crossing all the way from one world to another.—B. B.



THE ORIGIN OF MAN
AND HIS RACES

Clark Wissler

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THE origin of man is still something of a mystery. Our knowledge of living man on the other hand fills hundreds of volumes. We know also a great deal about late prehistoric man, and we have a respectable body of data about early man, that decreases in amount as we move backward in time towards his appearance on the earth. A brief statement of what is known and can be conservatively inferred as to early man, can be best formulated after enumerating the outstanding discoveries and investigations, and since most of the data available refer to Western Europe it will simplify matters if we give attention first to that part of the world. The reason why we have more data from Western Europe than from other parts of the world is that the most enlightened nations live there, about the only people, including their colonies, seriously interested in the origin of man or having sufficient scientific training to recognize evidence when encountered. The first to take an active interest in the

subject seem to have been the Danes, for as early as 1806 a Danish commission was appointed to delve into the prehistory of man. Shell heaps, mounds, and peat bogs were carefully studied, and long before 1865 the great authority on the subject, C. J. Thomsen, had established the stone, bronze, and iron ages. This order of development was not a mere theory, nor a matter of speculation, but the result of patient accumulation of facts concerning what traces of man were to be found in the earth. It was the work of many observers. Into the museums of Denmark were gathered the relics of the past, and it was by classifying these and noting the facts recorded as to their association, the one with the other, and with the bones of animals and remains of plants, that Thomsen came into an understanding of the stages in the development of man in Denmark. These studies of the Dane did not stand alone, for simultaneously in England and in France men began to take an interest in stone implements found in caves and elsewhere, and by 1870, or thereabouts, so much information had been collected concerning these evidences of early man, that Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury) demonstrated that the stone age in Denmark was a later form of the stone age known in France, and so he designated the earlier stone age as the palæolithic and the later one as the neolithic. Thus, the perspective of man's career came to the

European of that day as an inspiring insight. No longer was it necessary to stop where written records left off, since one could see far back into the dim past human beings struggling with broken stones in their hands against a harsh yet kindly environment, and thence step by step, improving their methods and ultimately developing the use of metals. It is not too much to say that here was sketched an outline for a complete history of mankind, a story not yet fully realized.

Having sketched the main outline, inquiring minds in Europe, from that day to this, have been actively engaged in filling in the details. It was soon apparent that the palæolithic, or the old stone age, could be divided into successive ages by the study of the evidences of man left in the caves of France. The accepted main divisions of the old stone age are:

7. Azilian
6. Magdalenian
5. Solutrean
4. Aurignacian
3. Mousterian
2. Acheulian
1. Chellean

The reader who wishes to know more of how these cave men lived, what wonderful pictures they painted upon cave walls, etc., should read Henry

Fairfield Osborn's "Men of the Old Stone Age" or George Grant MacCurdy's "Human Origins." On the other hand, we are concerned here with man himself, how he looked and how his body functioned. Unfortunately, while these early men drew spirited pictures of the animals they hunted, some of which have long been extinct, they have left us but few, and even then very unsatisfactory, representations of themselves. On the other hand, some of their bones have been preserved. Now, a great deal can be told about one's appearance in life from a study of the skeleton. The writer recalls how once a few bones were found in a cellar and turned over to the police, and how a study of these bones made it clear that in life their owner was a Mongolian, probably a Chinaman, that he was short of stature, heavy set, that one of his arms must have been stiff, so that his use of the hand was limited, etc., to the end that his identity in the community was established. Well, in much the same way, one may reconstruct the general appearance of prehistoric man, once his bones are found.

Turning now to questions of origin, it is impossible to speak in terms of historic time, for it is

clear that man's beginning dates back to a period definable in terms of geology rather than in dates and so it is to the geologist and the expert in fossils that we must turn for an up to date evaluation of the evidence. History, in the true sense, carries us back but a few thousand years and, at that, is more the history of a few peoples, living in Egypt and the adjacent parts of western Asia. It is true that certain civilizations in central and eastern Asia have histories, but so far as the evidence goes, they do not rival in antiquity the ancient nations of the West. But, as we shall see, there were hundreds of peoples in other parts of the world, for whom no historical data are available. Even now, for many primitive tribes the only true history is to be found in the narratives of white men. For example, the history of the Sioux Indians begins with their discovery in the seventeenth century. Since they were a powerful tribe at that time, and are known to be close relatives of a number of other tribes, all speaking languages of a distinct family, we may safely infer that they have been in existence for a long time and would have a history of their own, if writing and other means of preserving records had been known to them. Yet, we have reason to suspect these Sioux Indians as relatively recent in origin, in contrast to the first men to roam the plains and valleys of the Old World. History, therefore, can be of little help

to us, when seeking light as to the origin and early forms of man.

On the other hand, geologists and palæontologists, the students of fossils, have worked out a kind of time chart for the earth itself by which the rocks can be dated, not accurately in years, but in terms of older and later. In many rocks are fossils and it is because the fossils in the older rocks show that living things were simpler in structure than now, that we have come to believe in an evolutionary process, or a growth, extending over a great stretch of time. Further, when these fossils are classified as to structure and form, many are found to be similar to living animals, birds, and plants, so similar that the older fossil form is clearly the ancestor of the living creature. This is well illustrated in the fossils of horses when compared with the bones of living horses.

A long time ago, the scholars of Europe recognized that man's body bore a striking resemblance to living primates, but it was not until within a half century that fossils resembling man began to attract notice. One of the first important finds was in Java in 1894, the fossil bones of a creature designated as *Pithecanthropus erectus*, also known as the Java ape-man. Later, in Germany a lower jaw was found, sufficiently different to warrant the naming of a new species of man, or Heidelberg man. An-

other important find of a skull at Piltdown, England, gives still a different primitive species, Piltdown man. A number of other single finds of fossil human bones have been made: as, a skull, in Africa, Rhodesian man; the Talgai skull, Australia, etc., all more or less fragmentary and usually representing a single individual. Naturally, these fossils have been studied in great detail and the statements of the various experts have led to much controversy. Yet, however reluctant one may be to believe that men lived as contemporaries of fossil animals, it is useless to deny that these fossil bones represent forms of man different from the man of today.

The case is much stronger, however, when we turn to a species or variety of extinct man, known as Neanderthal. The first examples of this type were found in Belgium about 1866, but since that date, skeleton after skeleton has come to light, many of them complete; males, females, and children. We can, therefore, not only be sure of our ground as to this extinct species, but can determine the range of variation in form and feature. For details as to the individualities of Neanderthal man, the reader must turn to the literature of the subject, but he may be answered that, if Neanderthal man were met with in the flesh, one would note that his chin receded, that the jaws were thrust forward, that the brow

ridges were bold, and the forehead low, altogether an unexpected sight. It is also believed that his gait was slouching and that he could not raise his head high enough to look straight up without bending. Yet, he was human, used fire, made good stone implements, and buried his dead. After the Mousterian period, or about the middle of the old stone age in Europe, Neanderthal man disappears. No certain trace of him has been found in the New World, but recent discoveries show him to have lived in what is now Palestine. It is probable, therefore, that this species once overran all of habitable Europe and adjacent parts of Africa and Asia.

Naturally, if Neanderthal man went out, another type of man came in, and the man taking his place is a variety of modern man, *Homo sapiens*. Mousterian time, or the day of the Neanderthal, was followed by Aurignacian time, with a new type of man. The best known variety passes under the name Cro-Magnon. These were tall men, averaging well up to six feet, fairly long headed, with wide faces, but, in the main, showing the same features as may be seen in Europe today. As to the color of his skin, we know nothing, but since modern man

ranges from black to white, the determination of the color of Cro-Magnon man is not very important.

So far, this is the earliest example of modern man and no similar skeletons approaching these in antiquity have been found outside of Europe. However, this may be due to lack of knowledge covering other parts of the world, or to inability to date the finds made. So, whence came Cro-Magnon man into Europe is a mystery. Possibly he developed in Asia, or in Africa, and invaded Europe, exterminating the Neanderthalers. As to this, one can but speculate until discoveries of Cro-Magnon man are made elsewhere.

We have said that Neanderthal man was well advanced in savagery, but with the coming of Cro-Magnon man one notes a marked advance in culture. They bury their dead and put weapons with them, as did their predecessors, but we find, in addition, shells and bits of bone, perforated as if strung; in other words, they made necklaces and girdles. Here also begin cave painting and the carving of animals and humans in bone and ivory. The bow and arrow seem not to have appeared, as yet, but spears were common. Altogether, then, there is an evident gain over the level of life in Neanderthal time, a modern note in the life of man.

New discoveries are being made from time to

time, bringing to light new examples of Cro-Magnon man and his work and though he and his kind seem to have had western Europe very much to themselves, any day may reveal rival forms of modern man. In any case, as we pass from Aurignacian time to later periods in the old stone age, other varieties of man do appear. It is often pointed out that the skeletons of Cro-Magnon men have striking resemblances to those of English, French, Scandinavians, and Germans, and, in consequence, it has been surmised that we are direct descendants of these sturdy old cave dwellers. On this point, however, one cannot be clear. On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt the early presence of other human beings in Africa and Asia. We even get a hint of negroid types from certain ancient skeletons with negroid characters, occasionally found in stone age graves. That these may have come from the south (Africa) is suggested by the fact that after the Cro-Magnons, as such, have disappeared and the level of Magdalenian culture reached, a new kind of people found their way into Spain. From the paintings on cave walls one comes to feel that in spirit and technique these drawings are like those found in caves of North Africa, for, in contrast to the cave drawings of France, human figures in action abound, and though these figures have an African

look, one cannot fully trust their artists, since they took many liberties with the human form, exaggerating some parts unduly. One stylistic tendency is to draw the head and lower part of the figure in approximate true proportions, but to indicate the trunk by a mere line, thus giving the figure a ludicrous touch. On the other hand, action is expressed with vigor and some of the drawings are truly meritorious. Yet space forbids enumerating all the varieties of modern man that appear as we proceed into the neolithic, or newer stone age, and thence to the ages of bronze and iron. What is suggested is, that whereas in early times in Europe there were species of men now extinct, the tendency was for a single species to dominate to the exclusion of every other, so that modern man, soon after he appears in that part of the world, stands alone. But new varieties soon appear, for, aside from the hints that negroid peoples were already living in Africa, local varieties appear in Europe itself, and, as we progress toward the historical horizon, the number of these varieties increases. Yet, in general, all these varieties of man, whether negroid or not, are much more like each other than they are like Neanderthal man, and so are generally considered as belonging to a single species, *Homo sapiens*, the only species surviving since the middle of the old stone age. We should,

of course, bear in mind that new discoveries in other parts of the world may at any time make necessary the revision of this statement.

Our discussion so far can be fairly summarized by saying that, in Europe, at least, the modern species of man arrived during the old stone age and was preceded in that place by a species now extinct, passing under the name of Neanderthal. The several finds of fragmentary skeletons, indicating other types, and suggesting still other extinct species, have been noted and, while everyone will admit that more examples of these same types are needed to define clearly the additional species, yet the reality of these bones and their peculiarities cannot be denied. It would be strange, indeed, if there were no others. Furthermore, some of these finds suggest types far less like modern man than was Neanderthal. For instance, the Java ape-man shows so many similarities to the gorilla, the chimpanzee, and the like, that many students of comparative anatomy have denied that he could in any way be regarded as human; yet, on the other hand, they agreed that he was far removed from his ape brethren. There is general agreement in fact, on one point, viz., that the Java

ape-man, so far as his skeleton shows, stands just between the higher apes and man. Then, whether one speaks of him as a super-ape or as sub-human, matters little. On the other hand, the disposition is to consider Piltdown man and even Heidelberg man as somewhat nearer modern man than is the Java ape-man. When one sums up this part of the case, it seems fair to say, that in these scattering finds appear the outlines of a kind of family tree, the surviving member of which is modern man.

Going still farther back into the past, one may ask as to the relation of such forms as the Java ape-man to the contemporaneous ancestors of the living apes, gorillas, and chimpanzees, of today. This question can be answered only in terms of similarity in the fossils available, but these similarities are so marked and hold to such detail, that there seems no good reason to doubt such a relationship. Even the parallel between the chimpanzee and man is sufficiently striking to warrant the assumption of a remote common ancestry. Another fifty years no doubt will see many new discoveries and those who come after us will be able to give a much more positive answer to these questions.

Now, having in mind what is known as to the fore-runners of modern man, we may turn to the consideration of living races. If a school boy were asked to name the chief living races, the expected answer

might be black, yellow, red, and white, and this answer is good as a beginning, since thereby are designated the four main groups of peoples. But before we proceed with this part of our subject, it may be well to remind ourselves that any discussion of modern man must necessarily be from our own point of view. We are of the people of western Europe, looking out upon the world. Columbus stands as the leader of the explorers to whose tireless efforts we owe our world view, and ever since these first epoch-making voyages to strange lands, the people of Europe have sought an understanding of the relationship of the various peoples, savage, or otherwise, to one another and to ourselves. In many respects, this question still remains unanswered and we can do no more here than point out the larger classes of men and enumerate their differences and similarities.

The first notable attempt to classify the peoples of the world was made by Linnæus, who lived from 1707-1788. He conceived of man as enjoying a close relationship to other living forms, proposing, about 1758, the term primates for all of the then known monkeys, lemurs, and bats, and under this

head he placed man. Modern zoölogists have rejected the bats, but retained the others as constituting a related group. All are, to varying degrees, "handed," with a number of other characters in common. As to man himself, Linnæus chose skin color as the most distinctive character and proposed four varieties—the white, black, red, and yellow. This classification is still in favor with many scholars.

As time went on, however, efforts were made to render a more detailed classification, hoping thereby to discover which groups were parent and which offspring. For this, color of skin, form of hair, eye, etc., did not suffice, so attention turned to the form of skull and face. Since a skull is much easier to handle than a living person and can be subject to all kinds of tests, there soon developed a phase of anthropology known as craniology. Blumenbach was probably the leader in this development; anyway, measurements soon came into use. It was not believed that mere size would suffice to distinguish the faces and heads of men, but that form and proportion would serve the purpose. If the reader turns to special books upon this subject he may be bewildered over the many detailed measurements craniologists have thought necessary to delineate the type of head and face accurately. In the main, however, the

founders of craniometry placed their chief dependence upon a few, as the cephalic index, or the ratio between the length and breadth of the head, and the facial angle, indicating to what degree the chin and lips extended forward. But, notwithstanding the many thousand of skulls and living individuals measured, no satisfactory system of classification has been established, the usual method of procedure being to group tribes or nations roughly, according to easily observed similarities. In reality, the point of departure is what may be called social and geographical, that is, one begins by naming the tribe, or tribes, to be studied, tells what part of the world they inhabit, and then proceeds to describe their appearance in terms of similarity to and differences from other tribes. This is not so much classification as it is description.

About the best way to get a general idea of living peoples is to look at the world as a whole. If the reader will place before him a map of the world, any size will answer, and note the great geographical divisions as, the New World, or the Americas, Africa, Europe, Asia, Australia, and the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, he will have in mind the structure upon which his worldwide view of mankind must be grounded. He should also bear in mind that the peoples of Europe have shown a disposition to overrun the whole world, making settlements every-

where and displacing native peoples; consequently, to avoid this confusing factor, it is recommended that he look upon the world as matters stood about 1492. Thus, the reader need not be told, that at that time both North and South America were in possession of peoples known to us as American aborigines. These are usually spoken of as constituting the red race and were in almost exclusive possession of the two continents. Turning now to Asia, almost everyone knows it as the home of the mongoloids, or yellow race; peoples of this type occupy the northern and central part of the continent, in fact about all of it, save the country south of the Himalaya range and the extreme southwestern area. Africa, on the other hand, is the home of negroid peoples, all of which land mass, except sections in the north, was in their possession in 1492. Europe, of course, except certain sections in the south and in the northeastern corner, was in the hands of Caucasoid peoples. Australia, again, was overrun by a type of man rather distinct, and turning to the islands of the Pacific, stretching from New Zealand to Hawaii, a tall brown people known as Polynesians. This is the rough outline of a picture, such a sketch as an artist might make as the initial step in a portrait. Scattered about on the fringes of the great areas we have characterized are many smaller peoples, sometimes difficult to classify because they re-

semble two or more of the great groups we have enumerated. For this reason, it may be best to enumerate the characteristics of the main race groups.

Negro Africa, or the home of the true negroes, extends from the lower borders of the Sahara desert all the way down to Cape Town. The negro type is not uniform over this whole area, since there are some two hundred, or more, tribes, each a more or less inbreeding group. They have, however, common characteristics that serve to group them in contrast to the other main divisions of mankind. Thus, in the main, negroes are characterized by wooly hair (ulotrichy) and dark brown to black skin; small heads, markedly dolichocephalic, or long; face prognathic, or extending forward; lips thick; and nose tending to be broad and flat. In bodily form and proportion they tend to be tall and slender, though there is considerable variation from tribe to tribe.

For the most part these negroes speak languages of the so-called Bantu family, which suggests an expansion from a common center, possibly in north-east Africa. There are, however, evidences of mixture with Hamitic and other races and also with

what may have been an older African pre-negro population. For example, in South Africa are surviving fragments of a small people known as Bushmen, whose skin is inclined to yellow and olive. These are the people among whom steatopygia is striking. The Hottentots, living on the west coast of South Africa, are assumed to be a mixture of Bushmen and negro, but the general opinion seems to be that the Bushmen of our time are survivals of an older African population. These Bushmen, or little people, seem to be different from the pygmy who lives in the forests of central Africa alongside of the negro and whose origin is still a mystery. Everyone knows how the idea of pygmies, or little people, fires the imagination and so it is not strange that explorers are keen to discover new races of these tiny folk. Naturally, there are many short peoples in the world, but what are usually meant by pygmies are negroid peoples of very small stature. For example, a people of this type, commonly spoken of as Negrito, is found in the Andaman Islands, in the Malay Peninsula, the Philippine Islands, and in New Guinea. This exhausts the list of what are considered negroid pygmies, though there are a few groups of small peoples, in Borneo, Sumatra, and other parts of Malaysia, considered non-negroid. Nevertheless, these fall in the same geographical area as some of the Negritos,

but until more is known of how significant size may be as a racial character, it would not do to say they are all remnants of an old primitive pygmy race.

Though the natives of Australia are often spoken of as negroid, they can make strong claims to being in a class by themselves. They also have the reputation of being the most lowly of peoples. This reputation seems to rest upon their general zoölogical classification, as anatomically the most primitive of living humans, but even on this score they are not without strong defenders. In feature they may be characterized as above the average in stature; dark chocolate-brown shading into true black; frizzly or wavy hair; the nose broad and flat and conspicuously sunken at the root; head long and narrow. One striking characteristic in many localities is the heavy beard and extreme hairiness of body in which respect they remind one of Europeans. In Tasmania, an island off the southern shore of Australia, once lived a people, seemingly the earlier invaders of Australia, and perhaps a little more primitive than the Australians. These people are now extinct, and what we know of them comes from a study of their bones and

from the meager accounts of travelers and colonists.

Whenever one raises the question of man's origin, everyone thinks of Asia. Even if man did not first appear in Asia, some of the most important developments in civilization did occur there, and in that respect, at least, that continent can claim to be our cradleland. On the other hand, very little is known of the early archæology of Asia and so one cannot go far back into the past; we can, however, get a general view of the main groups of people native to the country. Our first thought is apt to be that it is the country of the mongoloid, and in large measure it is; Japan, Manchuria, Korea, the provinces of China, Mongolia, and Tibet, constitute the main body of the mongoloids, as usually conceived. The dominant characters of this type are well known, as straight black hair, reddish to yellow skin, and a tendency to the eye fold, low nose bridge, etc., almost everyone has these well in mind and recognizes the mongoloid look at a glance. In technical discussions the mongoloids are regarded as round-headed peoples and in the main they are of short stature with small hands and feet.

Skirting these Chinese provinces and on the west and north are the Turkish peoples. These occupy the greater part of Asiatic Russia, or Siberia, and include such peoples as the Yakut, Tartar, Turkoman, Buryat, etc. Still farther to the northeast and extending into Russia and even into Scandinavia are the Finno-Turkic peoples to which belong the Lapps, Finns, Letts, Bulgar, Magyar, etc. Naturally, the strong mongoloid characters observable in China and Japan fade out as one moves westward in Siberia toward Central Europe. The origin of the mongoloid type is not known, but because of its intense development in western Asia, it is usual to assume that there lies its cradleland.

Turning back to China and facing the south, we find in the Malay Peninsula and the East Indian Archipelago, a people known as Malay. They are not the only inhabitants, but are a conquering race, supposed to have originated in Sumatra, probably before 1000 A.D., and after that date undergoing a rapid expansion.

A tall fine people occupy the islands of the mid-Pacific, Hawaii, New Zealand, Samoa, Tahiti, and so forth. Notwithstanding the wide range of these

islands, we find their native inhabitants very much alike; in complexion they are a warm, yellowish brown, with straight or curly hair, nose large and moderately wide. In general, however, their features are pleasing to Europeans. Like the Australians, the Polynesians can jointly claim individuality and so must be dealt with as a people in themselves. Nevertheless, anthropologists are disposed to regard them as a mixed people, in which are to be observed three types: a European, a mongoloid, and a negroid. That they moved out into the Pacific from Asia is evident, but whether they came as Polynesians or whether they were formed in the islands of the Pacific by the fusion of immigrant races, is still an unsolved problem.

We have reserved for final consideration the peoples of Europe, all of which are so much nearer to us than the peoples so far discussed. The term white race is usually applied to all the peoples of Europe and some adjacent parts of Asia and Africa, but when speaking of Europeans, we think of them as nations, independent or submerged, as France, Italy, Great Britain, Wales, Scotland, Finland, etc. In some cases these names designate single physical

types, while in others they signify nations: Russia, for example, among whose populations are to be found a number of types. On the other hand, anthropologists have, on the basis of appearance, established a three-part grouping for the peoples of Europe: the Nordic, or the northern; Alpine, or middle European; and Mediterranean, or South European. These names are so frequently used in speech and literature as to be familiar. If the reader places before him a map of Europe, the geography of this distinction will be clear; thus, the Nordics occupy the shores of the Baltic Sea, all of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; the Baltic section of Russia; northern Germany and France; Holland and Belgium; and finally, the greater part of the British Isles. Turning west to the Alpines, we find them in all of European Russia, except on the borders of the Baltic; southern Germany and the interior of France; Switzerland and northern Italy; Austria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and parts of Rumania and Bulgaria. Lastly, the Mediterranean type includes Portugal and Spain, skirts France in the south, all of middle and southern Italy, Greece and so on around the Mediterranean Sea. These boundaries are not clear cut, for the three types shade into one another. The Nordic type is best seen in the blond, blue-eyed Scandinavian, the Mediterranean in the black-haired Italian, and the

Alpine in the brunette of South Germany. In anthropological circles the distinction hinges largely upon form of head, face, nose, hair, and eye color. Thus, the Alpines are round-headed with broad faces, brown hair and eyes; the Mediterraneans are moderately long-headed, hair dark to black, eyes dark, nose broad; the Nordics, long-headed, narrow faced, narrow nosed, and with light hair and eyes. By taking these characters into account it is possible to classify the countries of Europe according to which set of characters dominate in the population.

No satisfactory explanation has been offered as to where and when these three strains arose. As to the blond, blue-eyed Nordic, the place of origin is usually assumed to be lands around the Baltic Sea, either in the Scandinavian Peninsula itself, or in northern Germany and the adjacent parts of Russia. The basis of this opinion is that here is where the type now resides and where it was at the beginning of history. When found in other parts of the world, its presence can be accounted for by the known migrations of people of this type. In much the same way, it is assumed that the Mediterranean type originated on the shores of that sea, though there is some difference of opinion as to whether the cradleland was in northern Africa, Mesopotamia, or southern Europe. On the other hand, the Alpines are supposed to have originated in Asia and to have thrust themselves

like a wedge in between the Nordic, on the north, and the Mediterranean, on the south. They are round-headed like Asiatics and in this respect stand in contrast to the Nordic and Mediterranean types. Along the edges of the Alpine wedge there is a great deal of mixture and, under modern industrial conditions, a considerable migration of each type into the territory of the others, which tends to level down and to obscure not only the origins of these types, but their distinctive characters as well. But it is not only in modern time that such mixing of types took place, for the history of each European nation recounts a series of invasions and intrusions of alien peoples. Most everyone knows how the Saxons and the Danes overran the eastern part of the British Isles, forming settlements and thus introducing the blond hair and the blue eye. The study of graves and skeletons found in the British Isles reveals that these were not the only visitors. Tracing immigration backwards, it appears that since 1700 chiefly Germans and German Jews came in; that between this date and 1200 first Germans and then French from the low countries came over; before this, for several centuries, there came French and, earlier, the Normans; about 800 the Norwegians arrived and some years earlier the Danes, while preceding them were the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons; from 400 back to the year 1 A.D. and earlier the Romans were in

control, and during the first centuries of pre-Christian time, the Belgæ and Celts came over; going still farther back we find the lake dwellers settling in England; and then a succession of shadowy folk, traces here and there, reaching back to the very dawn of man. Students of the British population claim they are able to distinguish most of these types among the living people of the present. As a similar list can be given for most of the nations of Europe, it becomes apparent that each national population is composed of many types, now almost hopelessly enmeshed. This is why it is so difficult to make clear statements as to the typical appearance and origin of the peoples of Europe.

The reader is probably asking, "But where on the family tree do these great races belong?" Frankly, that is still unanswered. If, as frequently proposed, the negroids took form in Africa, the mongoloids in Asia, and the white race in the Mediterranean basin, what and where was the parent stem? Some scholars look upon the negroid and the mongoloid as more highly specialized anatomical types than the white race and so propose that the white race is the lineal descendant of the older stem from which

came modern man. It is best to be conservative as to these theories, but, on the other hand, there is no justification for regarding the solution as hopeless, since each year records new data and the increase of knowledge as to the relationship of these great divisions of mankind. In closing this brief and inadequate sketch of man, it may be remarked that in the many attempts scholars have made to construct a family tree, there is almost unanimity of opinion that the negro, the white, and the mongoloid main branches separated a long, long time ago, and further, there is about equal agreement in placing the Australian and the closely related Tasmanian well down toward the initial branching point, if not at the very crotch.



PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

Fay-Cooper Cole



WE HAVE followed the development of man the animal, and have watched his culture grow from simple beginnings to rather complex societies. But so far the record has been of an archæological nature, evidence which is preserved in the skeletons of men who lived thousands of years ago, and in the less perishable products of their hands. From their cave dwellings, their ancient camp sites and deserted villages we may recover much of their life history; but of their society, of their government, religion and lore we can learn but little. However, we are not without materials from which we can reconstruct this life with considerable certainty, for there are today in different parts of the world groups of people who are still in a state as primitive as that of early palæolithic man. From such simple cultures we may proceed to more and more advanced societies until finally we approach our own.

Until recent years it was the fashion to take

bits of evidence brought back by missionary, trader, or traveler, and from these fragments reconstruct the story of man's development from savagery to civilization. The schemes were logical from our standpoint and so should have been true, but unfortunately for the theories, primitive man failed to conform. Yet the theories remained in the literature and we still meet with definite schemes which tell us how the human kind and the human mind will react to certain conditions and environments.

Modern anthropology takes nothing for granted. It uses a theory only as a working hypothesis — a thing to be modified or discarded so soon as it fails to fit the needs of the investigation. In place of psychological deductions based on insufficient data, we now have intensive studies on scores of primitive peoples in all parts of the globe. We can now analyze the total culture of one group and compare it with another, and from these observations see how man actually does react to external conditions.

In the present chapter it is proposed to give a picture of the life of three peoples living in the same part of the world and under quite similar conditions, but who have cultures which differ greatly. We shall then apply this material to some of the best known of current anthropological theories, such as that of the original promiscuous group which later develops into matrilinear and patrilinear societies; of environ-

ment as a determinant in culture; of diffusion and parallel development; and of the culture area. Our field will be the southeastern Orient and our groups the Pygmies of the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines, the Tinguian — a pagan hill tribe of northern Luzon — and the Menangkabau of central Sumatra, the most highly developed of Malayan peoples.

With the possible exception of the Vedda of Ceylon, the Pygmies of Malaysia are the least advanced of any living group. Unlike Neanderthal or Cro-Magnon man they are small of stature. They seldom reach a height of more than four foot nine and are often much shorter, so that they barely reach the shoulder of the average European. Their heads are bullet shape with low, retreating foreheads, while their broad noses, thick lips, tightly curled hair, and dark skins, proclaim them as negroids, or as the Spaniards called them "Negritos," little blacks. Today they are found in the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, in the Malay Peninsula, and in the Philippines, while traces of their blood occur in most of the islands of the Dutch Indies. It appears that they were the aboriginal inhabitants of all this island world, but have been exterminated, enslaved, or

driven back from the coasts by later invaders. Except in regions where they have been in close contact with more civilized peoples, they are true nomads, making no plantings and depending for food on jungle products, or the game and fish they can secure.

They usually roam about in small bands consisting of three or four closely related families. When they wish to establish a camp they look for an open spot in the jungle into which the sun can shine each day. This is necessary, for otherwise the leeches which live on the damp leaves and underbrush would make life unendurable. Should no such opening be available they cut down the smaller trees and shrubs and burn them, while the larger trees are girdled so that they will die. Their shelters consist of forked saplings driven into the ground to hold smaller sticks which, in turn, support the leaf roof. The trunks of small trees are laid lengthwise of the structure and across these small branches or strips of bamboo are placed to form the floor. On rare occasions the floor may be elevated two or more feet above the ground, but the hut is still very frail and gives slight protection against the driving wind or rain. Well made mats of pandanus leaf are spread on the floor and serve as beds, but if the night is clear and cold it is more than probable that the people will sleep in the hot ashes of their camp fire

along with the dogs. Baskets of bamboo or rattan hang from the roofs of the dwellings; bamboo tubes serve as water containers, or as receptacles for wild honey, while leaves or half coconut shells, secured from the coast, are used as dishes.

In the regions where the *upas* tree grows, one finds tubes of its poisonous sap which is used on arrow heads or the darts of the blowguns. These guns, which are always near at hand, consist of long cane tubes through which the pygmies blow darts about six inches in length. At one end of the missile is a cone of pith which collects the air; at the other is a tiny point covered with the deadly poison. The *upas* sap is an alkaloid which once it enters the blood stream causes the death of the victim but does not injure the meat for food purposes. The pygmy simply cuts away the flesh from around the wound and then eats the animal without any ill effects. The bow and arrow are also used and many simple traps are found in each camp.

Garments are exceedingly scanty and are secured in the nearby forest. The bark of certain trees is beaten with a wooden mallet until it is soft and pliable, is dried, and is then available for the loin cloths of the men or skirts of the women. Loops of colored rattan and kilts of a black fungus growth are often worn about the waists of the women, while both sexes wear neck or leg ornaments of seeds, teeth, or

even the bristles of the wild pig. In some regions the women wear bamboo combs as ornaments, not for practical use. Tattooing is not practised but a common method of beautifying the body is by cutting designs into the skin by means of a bamboo knife, after which dirt and soot are rubbed into the wounds so that they will become infected and will leave large raised scars.

Fire is made by rubbing two bamboo sticks together, or by sawing a piece of rattan across a piece of soft wood until the friction produces enough heat to ignite the tinder. Flint and steel have come into some regions through trade, and many men now possess knives secured from the Malay in return for jungle produce.

We now have a complete inventory of pygmy possessions, and it is seen that man can live with but few of the things so necessary to civilization. Even stone implements such as were used by palæolithic man in Europe are exceedingly scanty here, for bamboo serves most functions for which stone was there employed. Should some catastrophe suddenly wipe out all the pygmies there would be little left after a few years to tell of their life and culture, much less than the record we now have of the Chellean epoch of Europe.

On the non-material side life is equally simple. The oldest man of the group usually has some

authority over his little following, but he has no means of enforcing his will. The customs of the ancestors are as binding on the people as are the laws of civilized nations, and if one acts contrary to custom he is not only irreligious, but is an outcast from his group. Religious ideas are exceedingly chaotic. The pygmy realizes that there are beings stronger than himself, and that they live in the sky, stream, certain rocks or trees. Some are considered as having human or animal forms, but in general there is little speculation as to the form, name, or power of these beings. At times of stress, such as an epidemic, earthquake or typhoon, the people may make offerings or pray to the spirits for aid, but at other times they are as unconcerned and care free as children. Their life is not dominated by fear of the invisible dangers lurking in the forest, as is so often pictured for us.

Certain men or women are thought to have power to talk with the members of the spirit world, and at times of sickness they may go into trance and thus learn the sort of dance, or the kind of herbs which are necessary to effect a cure. Should all remedies fail and the person die, he is dressed in fresh bark cloth and is laid in his house, usually for three days. During this time a fire is kept burning near his dwelling and an armed man stands guard to prevent evil spirits from injuring the body. When the period of

mourning is past the body is buried in a shallow grave and the settlement is deserted.

At times when game and jungle fruits are plentiful, several groups may get together for a few days to feast and dance. The chief musical instrument is made by removing the bark from a small log which is then suspended by means of rattan strips. The women line up in front of the log and with short sticks beat out a rhythmical tattoo. Bamboo jew's-harps, mouth and nose flutes, and occasionally crude drums are employed, while certain mimetic dances are carried on to the accompaniment of song.

It appears that we have here not a degenerate culture, but an exceedingly simple one which has advanced but little in the thousands of years since man became man.

Early theorizers, like Herbert Spencer, have told us that man at first lived in great promiscuous groups in which there was no marriage, no regard for blood relationship, no religion, no property. Or perhaps they lived in bands at the head of each of which was a fierce old male who drove off the younger men and monopolized the women for himself. Later, we are told, as man advanced, the maternal type of society developed. In this stage the children remained with the mother, partly because of the uncertainty of fatherhood. Through her they inherited the rights and customs of the group, and some material objects

which we call property. In such a society the mother's sisters and female relatives would be well known but those of the father would be of little consequence. And so in time there grew up the idea that everyone in the mother's group was related but that the members of the father's family were not connected by blood with the child. The logical outcome was that marriage was barred between all in the mother's group or clan. With the growth of clan consciousness it became the custom to give it a name, perhaps that of some animal which later became the symbol of group solidarity, and around which there developed a body of lore and semi-religious practices. At a much later time society is supposed to have progressed to the paternal stage and finally to modern conditions. This scheme which, with modifications, was held by Spencer, Tylor, Lang, and Morgan is still to be found in the literature. Briefly it can be summarized as follows:—That the mind of man is essentially the same the world over, and that given similar conditions we may expect similar results. Secondly, that society develops by definite steps from the simple to the complex, as in biological evolution, and hence we find man slowly evolving from the promiscuous group, through the maternal clan, toward our present day conditions. In a like manner society is supposed to develop from nomadic hunting, to pastoral, and finally to an agricultural stage.

Evidently our pygmy group challenges many of the tenets of this school. There is no trace of promiscuity; no savage old man who dominates his group; no clan or other trace of maternal society. Monogamy is the rule; blood relationship is traced in both the father's and the mother's line and is a bar to marriage. There is no property in land, and the frail leaf shelters, which at best serve only for a few days or weeks, are always abandoned at the death of an adult. The few personal possessions such as blowguns, bow and arrows or trinkets are passed on to sons or daughters, but it can hardly be said that inheritance could have played a part in carrying the pygmy from near the foot of the evolutionary ladder to the same family ideas enjoyed by civilized man.

Before going further with the theoretical discussion, we shall have a glimpse of the culture of a people until recently head-hunters.

The Tinguian are a Malayan people who centuries ago left their home far to the south, and finally reached the northwestern portion of the island of Luzon in the Philippines. They apparently found a pygmy population in possession, but promptly dis-

possessed them, although there is some evidence of intermarriage. They may be described as of medium stature, with rounded heads, angular faces, rather high noses and full lips. Their dark hair is inclined to be wavy, and the skin varies from olive to a reddish brown. Such a description would be applicable to most Filipinos, and to the Menangkabau whom we are to visit later.

Apparently most of the Tinguian dwelt along the coast until the coming of the Spaniards, when they pushed inland to the valley of the Abra river and its tributaries. They were, at that time, head-hunters and the feuds built up as a consequence of hostile raids, together with the isolation of their mountain valleys, led to the development of several dialects. However, the separation is so recent that there is still great uniformity in the culture.

A village consists of a number of bamboo or partially wooden houses raised high above the ground on piles. The roof is of thatch laid in several tiers, so that it is an excellent protection against sun and rain, while the whole structure is rather substantially built. The poorer dwellings have only one room, but in the more elaborate houses there are three or more. However, these are single family dwellings, in which husband and wife, children and aged parents reside. We find here no trace of the communal dwellings so common in Borneo and Sumatra.

As compared with a pygmy hut the Tinguian dwelling seems well furnished, but in reality it contains little. Except where coast influence is strong we find few if any chairs or tables. Mats laid on the floor take the place of beds; benches along the walls serve as seats; but ordinarily men and women sit on the floor or on their heels. Well made cotton blankets, of their own weaving, hang against the wall, and below them are piled long, narrow pillows filled with tree cotton. Prized ornaments, fine garments, and blankets are stored in wooden boxes or chests which stand against the walls. Scattered about the floor is a miscellany of objects of general use, while near the door hang nets and traps, a shield, spear, and headaxe, for these people are expert workers in iron and steel. In the room used as a kitchen is a bed of ashes in which three stones placed in a triangle serve as a stove, and nearby are pottery jars and bamboo tubes filled with water. Chinese dishes, coconut shells, and baskets serve as dishes.

Scattered throughout the village are many minor structures ranging from the size of a doll's house to a sideless building large enough to hold a dozen people. These are "spirit houses" which are built at times of ceremony for the many spirits who attend.

Close to the houses are little gardens and banana patches, while at a greater distance are the rice fields. These fields rise in steps or terraces from the

river courses far up the mountain side, and are supplied with water which is carried for long distances by means of flumes and ditches. Less important fields are made by cutting the underbrush on the mountain side and planting corn, sweet potatoes, cotton and tobacco. For five months of the year the people spend long hours in these fields. Often they leave the village before dawn and only return when it is too dark to continue their labors. A visitor to a Tinguian village at this time would describe them as industrious, serious-minded people who take little interest in spirits or ceremonies. However, should he return after the crop is harvested he would see a very different life. With ample food assured, the people take things easy. They hunt and fish, not from necessity but chiefly for sport, and now that there is leisure they square accounts with the spirit world.

In every village ceremonies are held, some lasting but a few hours, others extending over seventeen days and nights. Spirit houses are built, offerings are made to the superior beings, and many dances and magical acts are performed. At such a time the mediums are the most important persons in the village. They are usually women past middle age who undergo rigorous training after which the spirits possess their bodies and talk directly to the people. At their command spirit structures are built, animals

are slaughtered, blood mixed with rice is scattered over the ground, and in former days it was often at their bidding that men went forth on a head-hunt. These mediums form a sharply marked group, at times of ceremony, but they have no organization, and at other times they are not regarded as superior to their fellows.

In each village we find a headman — the “lakay” — who is chosen because of his wisdom, and his knowledge of the customs of the ancestors. He is judge and counsellor of his people but he has no real authority. In difficult cases he calls in a number of the older men who decide what shall be done, and their verdict is law. Not law enforced by an officer or by corporal punishment, but made effective solely by public opinion. If a man fails to conform, he is ostracised by the group until he is willing to obey. Beyond the village there is no government. In times of stress two or three settlements may join for purposes of defense, but when the danger is past this beginning of a confederacy quickly breaks up. Custom is law, and while the “lakay” and the older men are best acquainted with the customs of the past, yet all know the stories of ancient times, and no headman would dare violate tradition.

During the dry months of the year bonfires are started in various parts of the village and around these the women gather to spin, and the men to

smoke or to make fish nets, while they listen to some good story-teller relate the tales of long ago—stories of the ancestors who had intimate dealings with the members of the spirit world, and who annihilated time and space through the practise of magic. The children likewise listen and thus come to regard the acts of the ancestors as their guide for life, while close association with their parents in all the duties of the village soon makes them efficient members of the community.

Here the idea of private property is highly developed. Land, houses, animals and personal ornaments all belong to individuals and pass from parents to children. Both men and women own property, and inheritance and descent are reckoned equally in both lines.

Child marriage is the rule and matches are made by the parent with little regard for the wishes of the couple. Close relatives are barred from marrying but there is no other impediment. We find no trace of matriarchal family; no idea of descent from a semi-human or other being who has become the protector or totem of the group.

The religion of the Tinguian is very definite. He knows the spirits by name; he talks with them when they appear in the bodies of the mediums and he knows that the spirits of the dead live in an after-world called Maglawaw where things are much like

those on earth. But in the land of spirits there are no rewards nor punishments for things done in this life.

Here again we seem to have a group which fails to fit into an evolutionary scheme for society.

Our final test tribe will be the Menangkabau of central Sumatra. Like the Tinguian they are Malay but because of their location on the main route between India and the Spice Islands they have been for centuries subject to some outside influence. As early as the second century A.D. Indian rulers had begun to extend their sway to Java and the coasts of Sumatra, and by the eighth century they were exceedingly powerful. Later came Arabian traders, who through sly proselyting succeeded in introducing Mohammedism, and with it many elements of Arabian culture. Still later the colonizing powers of Europe entered the region and Holland became the nominal ruler of Sumatra. All these outside influences have left their traces on the Menangkabau, and help to account in part for their high development in some of the arts, particularly in weaving and working in precious metals. On the other hand, this people has preserved to a surprising degree many

of the old customs, even those directly at variance with Hinduism, Buddhism, and Mohammedism.

This tribe, which numbers about one and a half millions, lives in the highlands of central Sumatra in the region where the equator cuts across the island. In spite of its location so near to the equator, its heavy rainfall, and dense mountain forests, their homeland does not impress one as distinctly tropical, for the air of the highlands is cool and bracing, and there are many trees, vegetables, and fruits which have been introduced from India and Europe.

Rice is the main product and the terraced rice fields extend far up the mountain sides there to give way to the jungle. Steep hill sides are used as fields for tobacco and lesser crops, while about the settlements are seen the beautiful cinnamon trees, coconut groves, and betel palms.

A settlement is from one to several long houses raised high above the ground, with peculiar roofs which resemble horns of the carabao, or water buffalo. The fronts of these dwellings are often elaborately carved and painted, while the nearby rice granaries are likewise decorated.

Upon entering the house we find ourselves in a large room containing most of the utensils described for the Tinguian dwelling, and in addition some chairs and a table, for outside influence introduced such luxuries long ago.

Off the main room are several small compartments and at the back of the dwelling is a communal kitchen.

Upon inquiry it develops that we have here a maternal family, which owns the land, dwelling, and all but a few personal possessions of the occupants. Every person, male or female, born into this house has a right to live under its roof and share in its benefits, but none can dispose of any part of the family holdings. The best room at the right of the entrance is occupied by the eldest or head woman, while the other apartments are used by her sisters, daughters, and nieces. When a girl is married a room is assigned to her and there she is visited by her husband. However, the man has no rights in the home of his wife. A part of the family land is assigned to the couple and after they have paid in a portion of the proceeds for the maintenance of the family dwelling they can do as they wish with the balance. Should the wife die the land and all her possessions revert to the family.

Several of these families make up a clan, or "suku," and there is a strict rule that no marriage can take place inside this group. Inheritance and descent are reckoned through the female line, and everyone in the mother's clan is considered related. So when a boy seeks a wife he goes to another clan, where he becomes a visitor in the house of his wife,

but he has no authority there even over his own children. A secondary set of rules barring marriage is set up through close association. Thus if a woman acts as a wet nurse in the family of another clan her descendants may not marry into that clan, for according to the customary law "those who draw from the same breast may not marry." In the same way those who secure their drinking water from the same spring may not marry even though family and clan rules do not prohibit the match.

Each house selects a man, usually the brother or eldest son of the head woman, to act as adviser and father to the house and also to represent it in the clan council. The clan in turn elects one of its members to represent it in the council of the clans—the "negari" or phratry. This council decides all matters of importance, but always according to the customary law. If there is doubt concerning a point, or if a new situation develops it makes its decision, but any person young or old may express his opinion even though he is not a member of the council. This is an exceedingly democratic society in which the women exercise an unusual amount of authority.

Nominally the people are Mohammedans and every village has its mosque, but beneath this veneer the old faith is found. This ancient religion resembles in many respects that of the Tinguian and other pagan Malay, but the power of the magician

is especially emphasized. He controls wind and rain, success and failure with crops and animals, he may bring sickness or death, and with his fellows he performs many magical acts which impress upon the people his great power and influence with the spirit world.

We now have before us a sketch of three groups living under similar environments. Two of these are of the same race and have an underlying similarity of culture, yet we find many radical differences particularly in government and social organization. As far as possible we shall use these as samples of primitive society and through them test some of the current theories. Where they fail to supply the information needed we shall refer to other groups equally well known to science.

We have already seen that our two more primitive groups fail to show any trace of clan, maternal organization, or the still more primitive promiscuous group. This leads us to doubt the validity of any such claim for society in general, but before we come to a definite decision we should inquire in other regions.

In America we find no such institutions among the

more primitive groups, but we do find totemic clans, matrilinear descent and inheritance among some of the highly developed peoples such as the Iroquois and Pueblo Indians. It is only in Australia that we find societies which seem to conform to any great extent to the theory advanced by Spencer and Freud, and we certainly are not justified in building a world scheme on one isolated region.

Among the Menangkabau we do find the clan and maternal family but without any trace of totemism. Here it is possible that property rights may have had much to do with the establishment of this system, while marriage prohibitions are due in part at least to close association. At any rate these institutions do not appear to be a remnant of an old Malayan system, for outside of Sumatran influence they are practically unknown in Malaysia proper.

Another theory which has suffered from our survey is, that given similar environment we may expect similar cultures. Apparently it does not hold for our test groups, and had we considered the Bontoc Igorot, who live close to the Tinguian, we should have found a people of similar physical type and language who vary quite as much from their immediate neighbors as they do from the Menangkabau.

In development from hunting nomads to agriculturists, our groups seem to follow Spencer's theory,

but we have tribes in America which when they received the horse gave up agriculture and became typical buffalo hunters, thus reversing the procedure.

The survey of pygmy life made it evident that these little people are dependent on the environment to a great extent, but that they do not make use of all that the environment offers. What part of the things offered by nature will be used is often determined by accident or the prior history of the group. Had we time to review all the evidence it could be shown conclusively that the Tinguian method of rice planting and harvesting, of house building, of metal working, and of weaving all came from the south and were probably carried by them when they moved into Luzon. The religious practices and folklore likewise give many evidences of contact with the southern Philippines and Java. Just to the north and east of the Tinguian live the Apayao, probably a part of an earlier invading group, who lack the terraced rice fields, the highly developed lore and religious life of their neighbors, but who are still very different from the pygmies who reside near them. The environment is the same in all cases, the responses are different.

Another group of theorizers, often called the French School because of the part played in its development by Durkheim, Levy-Bruhl and others, has stressed the importance of the group in determining

the life and conduct of the individual. Indeed they have gone so far as to hold that all advance, all human mentality, and all that results from it, is a collective product. Here our test groups seem to give some sanction to the theory. We find that the primitive child begins early in life to be forced into the type of thought of his group, and ere long he finds that to deviate from custom is evil which if persisted in will cause him the loss of friends and punishment from the spirit world. Custom and religion are closely interwoven. If a man plans a hunt, plants his field, or builds a house he does it in the way the spirits first taught the ancestors, and he makes suitable offerings to insure success. This has resulted in practices and beliefs which have led Levy-Bruhl to state that the mind of primitive man—which is fashioned by his group—is pre-logical as opposed to our logical method of thinking. At first this seems to be true, but as we analyze his activities we find that if we grant primitive man his premises he reasons as logically as do we. The difference lies chiefly in the way he classifies the facts of his experience. It is not true that in most of our activities we are governed by logical thought. Like man the world over we follow the customs of our group in most of our thoughts and activities, but our greater experience has given us a larger body of facts on which to rest our judgments.

Still another theory which has been invoked to account for the wide spread of certain customs is diffusion. That certain plants, material objects, customs, and folk tales have spread with great rapidity is a well established fact. The world-wide spread of tobacco after the discovery of America, the quick transfer of the "Uncle Remus" stories from the African slaves to the Indians, are typical of this trend in later times. Apparently much the same tendencies were at work in earlier periods but the process was slower because of less efficient means of communication. The underlying unity in the material culture of Malaysia argues for diffusion from an original center. In America the case is even clearer, for it is evident that the domestication of plants, building of stone houses, making of pottery, and many other elements of culture were developed in the highlands of Mexico and Central America, and from thence diffused north and south to the limits of their range. Today it is possible to trace them back in an almost unbroken chain to the original center of dispersion.

The completeness of the evidence for diffusion has led certain enthusiasts to make extreme claims for it. To these extremists it appears that independent invention is practically impossible, and that all similarities are due to contact regardless of the distances which may intervene. To them the existence of pyra-

mids, mummies, and terraced fields in America and Egypt is proof that they were once in contact, despite the fact that they lie on opposite sides of the world and that broad stretches of the intervening territory show none of the similarities stated. American scholars are far from being convinced that any such diffusion has taken place, and are inclined to consider the Middle American cultures as an independent growth. It is true that striking resemblances do exist but these are but isolated incidents in the total culture and may well be accounted for by parallel or convergent development. It is exceedingly unlikely that these similarities in culture could have been established by a few chance castaways who might have reached American shores; while a large group would have left its impress on physical type, language, and in old world types of agriculture. Yet none of these are evident.

A striking case of convergent development is presented to us in the maternal society of the Menangkabau, when we compare it with that of the Iroquois Indians of North America. So similar do they appear that had one occurred within a thousand miles of the other we should have been convinced that it was due to contact. Yet they live more than fifteen thousand miles apart, and there is no justification for the suspicion that they were derived from the same source. Doubtless the history of these two institutions is

very different, but in the final state they appear very similar.

Probably the most important concept used in modern anthropology is that of the culture area. Our test groups do not suffice to demonstrate this so we will turn again to the American field. When the anthropologist plots the distribution of material objects, or of non-material culture, he finds that it is not uniform, but is in patches. He also learns that there is a tendency for things once in contact to hold together for long periods of time. Thus he finds that despite differences in tribes and languages there is great uniformity in the culture of the buffalo hunting Indians of the Plains. Again, the California Indians have a rather distinct culture quite different from that of the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest. On the basis of the differences it is possible to plot nine culture areas north of Mexico.

The question is at once raised, why these differences in areas, and why this uniformity within the area?

It appears that the early Indian invaders into America possessed a very simple neolithic culture. In entering a virgin area, such for instance as Cali-

fornia, the newcomers found an environment which offered a number of ways of sustaining life, but they did not use them all. Instead they specialized on the acorn, and around this as their chief food they built a very simple culture. Other tribes coming into the region found the accommodation already made and borrowed it. So throughout the region, and apparently for long periods of time, we find great uniformity in the culture—both material and non-material. Such an area once established shows great resistance to change, yet at its nucleus there is usually a development slightly in advance of the peripheries, and here change does take place. One area meets another at the peripheries, or their weakest points, and hence there is less of cultural material for interchange. But it is also true that in this region of contact there is less conservatism, and ideas are exchanged with greater ease. In a region like middle America, where different environments are close together, and where the nature of the country has caused a meeting and concentration of peoples, there has been more contact, more intermarriage, more trade, and conservatism has been broken down. Here we find a massing of cultural elements until there develops a great focal center, in which civilization thrives and from whence it diffuses in all directions. Another such center existed at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and a third in China

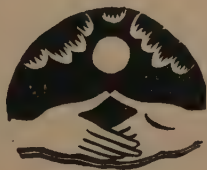
between the Yangtse and Hoang-ho Rivers, and at later times secondary centers developed from these.

Here then in the culture area and the closely related focal center we have an unusual opportunity to follow the development and growth of civilization. We can study the influence of environment on a people; we can see to what extent the prior history of the group influences the choice it makes of its opportunities; we see how culture diffuses, and we can watch the process of adjustment when two diverse cultures meet.

If we were to go back over the history of man throughout the ages it would appear that similar areas have always existed even in Chellean and Acheulian times, and if we were to apply the various theories we have discussed to each we should be forced to conclude: That no one of the theories which have been advanced would account for the development of man's culture. There is truth in each but that does not give to any one universal validity. It appears that there is such a fundamental likeness in the human mind that man sometimes, but not always, reacts in similar ways to similar stimuli. It is evident that man has worked out very different institutions in different parts of the world, and that no single line of development will account for his society. Environment is always important, but the

prior history of the group often determines the use it will make of it. Diffusion and historic contacts are likewise necessary to human progress. Isolated groups remain static but meeting of peoples makes for progress.





THE GROWTH OF
INSTITUTIONS
William M. McGovern



THE person who aims at studying the origin and development of human institutions is faced with great difficulties. The skeletons found in prehistoric graves give the physical anthropologist definite data with which to study the racial history of man. The various material objects which are usually found in these graves provide the cultural anthropologist data with which he can work out theories concerning the origin and development of man's material culture. But these prehistoric graves, our only direct contact with man at very early times, throw scant light upon primitive social organization, and quite naturally, for social organization is by its very nature non-material, and produces few things which can be tucked away in burial grounds.

The most that we can expect from excavation is indirect evidence. Burial mounds, for example, frequently tell us whether certain peoples were or were not agriculturalists, whether they did or did not keep domestic animals. From these facts we can infer

something concerning the economic organization of the peoples in question, and from the economic organization we can make vague surmises as to the political and social conditions. But in all such cases the work of inference is very dangerous and uncertain. Many of the theories based upon these inferences rest undoubtedly upon very dubious foundations.

Owing to the necessary absence of definite archæological evidence as to early types of social organization, attempts have frequently been made to draw conclusions regarding prehistoric human institutions through a study of the organizations prevalent among the various primitive peoples still existing in various parts of the world. At first sight this line of approach appears reasonable. At one very early time all human beings must have been mere gatherers of wild foods with no other implements than those made of stone or perhaps of wood. There are still peoples scarcely above this stage of material culture. It would therefore seem probable that a study of the organization of those peoples which have retained this primitive material culture would give us an immediate insight into the social organization of the peoples of prehistoric times.

In point of fact this line of approach is beset with a number of difficulties and dangers. Many

peoples with an equally primitive material culture differ widely in their social organization. Which of these social organizations, therefore, is to be considered the more archaic? Moreover, we now know definitely, that many peoples, through keeping their material culture unchanged, have modified their social organization enormously. Many primitive tribes have developed social systems of great complexity, showing a high type of specialization, and we have reason to believe that these systems are developments peculiar to the peoples in question, and do not represent phases of organization through which of necessity all mankind has passed. Such being the case, it is obvious that any attempted reconstruction of early institutional life, or of the various stages in the development of institutional life, based upon present day conditions must be done with caution.

The general acceptance of the theory of evolution, arising from the success of Darwin's chief work (published in 1859), had a profound effect upon the study of human institutions. For a while it seemed to be a key which would unlock the door leading to a solution of all social problems. Unfortunately the

doctrine of evolution was applied too directly and too sweepingly to human institutions. The modern student of human progress, though accepting unhesitatingly some form of the evolutionary hypothesis, is forced to deny some of the far-reaching generalizations which in the old days were supposed quite erroneously to be a necessary corollary of the law of evolution.

The basis for this former erroneous over-theorization is perfectly intelligible. It was first of all due to the belief that the various primitive peoples had kept their social organization unchanged. This meant that it had to be taken for granted that all peoples had passed through the same forms of social organization which characterized the primitive peoples of today.

The acceptance of this theory led to still further complications. When it was found that various primitive peoples had widely different forms of organization, the theorizers, not to be turned back, merely added to the structure and said that each of these widely divergent types of organization represented different stages in the path of evolution, and that all of the present highly civilized peoples of the world must at some time or other have passed through each one of these stages.

Different theorizers naturally built up different hypothetical stages of human progress. A very com-

mon theory formulated a system of stages arranged more or less as follows:

1. In the beginning there was no definite family organization, but merely a wild, unorganized horde of men and women practising sexual promiscuity.

2. There followed a period of greater selectivity in which there was no longer absolute promiscuity, but in which there was still "group marriage," in which selected groups of men had sex relations with selected groups of women.

3. This group marriage gradually developed into definite polyandry, in which each woman had a number of husbands. As this resulted in great uncertainty as to the fatherhood of the offspring, family descent was traced entirely through the mother.

4. Finally the men rose in revolt, upsetting the previous system of polyandry and substituting for it polygyny (sometimes and erroneously called polygamy). As a result they changed the old method of tracing descent from the mother's side to the father's side. This system, with some modification, is still found among nearly all of the higher peoples.

I have here at my disposal far too little space to speak of the arguments for and against this and other types of nineteenth century generalizations, and must content myself with stating that at the present time these theories have lost most if not all of their support on the part of reputable scholars.

Present day scholars are, to be sure, very far from agreement as to details, but I believe that the vast majority of them would accept in a general way the following points:

1. The earliest unit of social and political organization was not a horde, or even a clan or tribe, but a small group corresponding in a general way to the present day "family" in the narrower sense of that word, i.e., father, mother, children, possibly also a grandparent, and brothers and sisters. The economic status of early man alone would have prevented any large aggregations of humanity.

2. From this early unit there gradually evolved at different times and at different places different types of social and political organization. Sometimes these units were small groups of persons living together generally but not necessarily related; at other times the units consisted of sibs or families in the larger sense of the word. Some of these sibs traced their descent through the female line, others through the male line. In some cases a group changed from the matrilinear to the patrilinear system, but in other cases a patrilinear group changed itself into a matrilinear group. Among some peoples the sibs developed elaborate systems involving exogamy and totemism, among other peoples the sib remained comparatively simple. The important point about the whole matter is that it is not necessary to be-

lieve that all peoples went through all of the phases which we find among the various peoples of the world.

3. Some peoples have never passed beyond the community, or the sib, type of organization, but in most cases force of circumstances has caused the federation of communities and sibs into tribal units. The word tribe is very vague, and we know that among some peoples tribal organization is very simple, while among other peoples the tribe has become an extremely complex structure retaining within itself the old sib organization, as well as developing several additional methods of grouping its members. In any case the tribe is the fundamental unit of political organization; from the tribe has developed by confederation and coalescence the Horde, the Nation, and the State. Here again it is necessary to add that the line of development from the community or sib to the tribe and from the tribe to the state has not been the same among the different peoples of the world.

So much for the broad outline of the history of the development of human institutions. Each one of these phases needs a little further explanation.

First let us examine the early so-called "family." The exact nature of this unit must naturally remain a matter of conjecture. However, we have what may prove to be valuable hints as to its structure in the organization, or rather lack of organization, of the family bands of the anthropoid apes; also in that of the pygmies in various parts of the world, that of the Bushmen of South Africa, and that of the Pogsa or Maku of South America.*

In the early family, as far as can be judged, the organization was so crude that there was no need for the elaborate rules and "laws" which characterize the organization of many of the later more highly developed peoples. In the most primitive society there was in fact probably no rule for or against either monogamy or polygamy as is evidently the case with the above-mentioned groups, but we have reason to believe that in actuality monogamy was the general custom, though there was a tendency for the more powerful men to secure additional wives if and when they were procurable.

In this connection it should be remembered that even in modern times and in countries where polygyny is perfectly legal, for example in Mohamadan communities, the vast majority of the population remains monogamous, if for no other reason than that a plurality of wives entails too much ex-

* Dr. Cole's article on Primitive Societies in this volume gives a fuller and very adequate picture of early institutions.

pense. The small, wealthy class is polygynous, but the bulk of the population is so poor that it is forced to remain monogamous. As far as that goes, it may be wondered whether even in Europe there is not a tendency in the same direction in spite of the legal prohibition of plurality of wives. This fact inclines us to the belief that human nature exhibits a general tendency to behave in a somewhat similar manner at all times and places, though no doubt at certain times and places some very peculiar laws prevailed, regarding so-called morality, and other matters.

The nineteenth century doctrine of primitive promiscuity, of general group marriage, and of primitive universal polyandry is now much discredited, although there can be no doubt that a number of peoples which have now reverted to monogamy (tinged with occasional polygyny) have at some time or other gone in for polyandry at least, possibly also for group marriage.

A word should be said regarding exogamy and endogamy, two words much in vogue in the nineteenth century. Exogamy is the law whereby a man is prohibited from marrying a woman inside of his own immediate group (usually the sib). Endogamy is the law that a man must marry inside of his own group (usually a larger group such as a tribe). The fact that many primitive peoples practise exogamy (endogamy as a formal law is less common) has led certain scholars to suppose that exogamy is one

of the earliest and most fundamental of human institutions. This view is almost certainly erroneous if for no other reason than that very early man did not recognize either sib or tribe, the unit being, as we have seen, the small family, only the closest relatives being regarded as kin at all.

Exogamy and endogamy no doubt did have their roots in very early times and among the most primitive peoples, but these roots are merely the innate human dislike of incest (the basis of exogamy) and the equally innate idea that it is proper that a man should marry a woman of his own race and people (the basis of endogamy). In very early times there were probably no laws one way or the other, but this primeval disinclination had law giving force.

Among no very primitive people are incestuous unions at all common. In most cases they are looked upon with horror. In the few instances where we hear of the marriage of brothers and sisters (Egypt, Peru, Hawaii) such unions were confined to the ruling family, and were undoubtedly of late origin.

Early man instinctively looked outside of his immediate family circle for his mate. At first he probably did not have to look very far, because only the closest relatives were regarded as kin at all. For other reasons he did not wish to look very far. Like generally takes to like, in spite of some glaring exceptions to the contrary. A woman of the same race,

accustomed to the same economic standard, one who would fit in well with the man's family group would naturally be considered to be the most suitable mate.

In many cases this desire for a specially suitable wife has led to the systematic marriage of distant relatives, distant enough to avoid any question of incest, but sufficiently related to inspire a feeling of community of origin.

A final word must be said regarding the method of securing a bride. It is possible that in very early times marriage by capture was quite common, but the fact that many people still retain a mock robbery of the bride by the bridegroom by no means proves that any great number of peoples have retained marriage by real capture until comparatively modern times.

Marriage by some kind of purchase is certainly very old and very widespread. In some cases the man is forced to pay what is really a very high price to the girl's parents in order to secure her for a bride. In other cases the presents paid to the future parents-in-law are largely ceremonial in character and are of little intrinsic worth. In other instances exchange of women takes the place of purchase. Man, A, for example, will give his sister to B in order that he may receive B's sister as a bride in return. Here a woman still has a definite economic value, and

in case a man has no sister or other near female relative, he is forced to pay the usual bride price.

Either at some other time or at some other place, a very different system came into vogue. According to this system the bride had to be equipped with a dowry by her parents, so that a man in marrying not only secured a housekeeper, but the nucleus of a comfortable fortune as well. Some people have clung to the bride purchase system exclusively, others know only the dowry system. Still others, possibly as the result of historical contact, have adopted both systems. That is, a man has to give expensive presents to his future parents-in-law, but at the time of the wedding the bride comes furnished with a trousseau of equal value.

Having briefly sketched the development of the family, let us now turn to a consideration of the next largest unit, which is either the "community" or the sib. It should not be forgotten, however, that the old family unit has never died out, that marked traces of its existence and its influence have persisted even at times and at places where the sib or some other larger unit has nominally superseded it.

Among many peoples there appears to have been a direct development from the small family to what we may call the community or proto-tribe. Brothers, on marrying, did not desert the vicinity of their parents entirely but erected huts near by, and moved along with their friends and relatives when it became necessary to move from one place to another. This stage may be called the beginning of village life, though the village was usually nothing more than a cluster of temporary huts. Political life did not as yet have a territorial basis, and the village, or community, consisted of a group of people which lived and moved together, and not of a fixed land area.

When an old community became too large, it naturally broke up into two or more new communities, or perhaps it might better be said that a portion of the old community would break off and form a separate establishment. Each community, whether new or old, was entirely independent, but the inhabitants of neighboring communities being for the most part fairly closely related naturally spoke the same or a similar language, and generally continued to maintain friendly relations. Not infrequently the inhabitants of these neighboring communities were definitely recognized as being related in some way, but there was among those peoples which followed

this line of development no sib organization with its fixed laws of relationship, no laws of exogamy, and no totemism.

Inside of each community or proto-tribe there was naturally very little need of any rigid political or social organization. Power rested in the community as a whole, and not in any one member of it, but the oldest, or in some cases the most energetic, person would obviously act and be regarded as the chief person, but even so this chief person nearly always secured the advice and consent of the other experienced men of the community before deciding any matter of importance.

It would appear that many peoples have been able to develop from the family to the tribal state in this direct way (this idea is of course directly contrary to most of the nineteenth century theories), but among many other peoples, both in the old and in the new worlds, between the family and the tribe, there was developed a very interesting intervening sib — or kinship type of organization — depending no longer upon groups of persons who lived together, but upon all persons who were really or theoretically related to one another, wherever they might happen to live.

At this point it should be borne in mind that it is possible to trace descent and relationship in three different ways, viz., (1) through both the father and

the mother, (2) through the father only, and (3) through the mother only.

The tracing of descent through both father and mother is far from universal. We, ourselves, theoretically do so, but even we are strongly imbued with the results of the second or patrilineal system, as can be seen from the fact that among us all children take the father's name, and that in Europe where hereditary titles still prevail succession to the title for the most part goes through the male line exclusively.

Among a great many primitive and semi-primitive peoples descent and relationship are counted even more strictly unilaterally. A person is supposed to belong exclusively either to the father's or to the mother's family. In many, in fact in most cases, this idea is pushed so far that among patrilineal peoples even the closest relatives on the mother's side, e.g., the mother's brother, are not regarded as relatives at all, and correspondingly among matrilineal peoples the closest relatives on the father's side, e.g., the father's brother, are not regarded as relatives at all.

All the members of the "great" as opposed to the "small" family constitute a sib. In America, at any rate, a great-family organization which traces its descent through the father exclusively is usually termed a gens, while a great-family organization which traces its descent through the mother exclusively is usually termed a clan. In the present article

I shall follow American usage, though it would be well to note that on the continent of Europe a different terminology prevails.

It is, of course, impossible for any one people to have both a gens and a clan organization. Children belong either to the father's family exclusively, and hence to the father's gens, or to the mother's family exclusively, and hence to the mother's clan.

In the nineteenth century, as we have seen, the idea was common that the sib (i.e., gens or clan) organization was one of the earliest of human institutions and hence common to all mankind at some stage in its development. This idea is now generally discarded, because, as we have noted above, many peoples, both ultra-primitive and semi-civilized, show no trace of this type of organization.

In the nineteenth century it was also almost universally believed that not only did all peoples pass through the sib type of organization, but also that all peoples passed through both matrilinear and patrilinear types of sib (i.e., through both the clan and the gens stage), the generally accepted theory being that at a very early period all men were grouped in matrilinear clans, and that later the clans gave way in favor of patrilineal gens.

This theory of the matrilineal system always preceding the patrilineal system has now lost most of its support. It is, to be sure, still held, in a much weak-

ened and modified form, by many European scholars, but nearly all of the American authorities deny any validity to the theory, largely because of the fact that in the new world in pre-columbian times most of the very primitive Indian tribes which had a sib organization at all had a patrilineal or gens organization, while most of the advanced tribes which had a sib organization at all had a matrilineal or clan organization.

The majority of scholars would therefore claim that the patrilineal and the matrilineal sibs are equally early and equally primitive. Some peoples have evolved the one, others the other type of organization. In addition to this it is also undoubtedly true that at various times, some peoples have passed, for historic or "culture contact" reason, from one type of organization to the other. During the first development of agricultural communities there seems to be a decided tendency towards the formation of matrilinear clans, but with the further development of the idea of property, and particularly with the further development of large political units, there is a decided tendency in favor of the formation or re-formation of patrilineal gens. In the old world within historical times, the patrilineal system has held sway.

It should not be forgotten that many peoples have carried the sib type of organization much further

than others. Among many peoples in both ancient and modern times, we find the well-marked rudiments of sibs but without the crowning structure of the sib system, namely strict exogamy and totemism. Other peoples which have developed the sib system more fully have added both of these features.

Exogamy, or the law that a man must marry outside of his own gens or clan, is merely the logical development of the old innate dislike of incestuous unions. In very primitive times (and again in modern times, owing to the breakdown of the gens) incest had reference only to immediate relatives, but when *all* members of the father's family (in the gens system) or of the mother's family (in the clan system), however distantly they might be related, came to be regarded as real members of one great family it is obvious that marriage between members of the same sib would necessarily be regarded as incestuous.

It is worthy of especial note that this anti-incestuous feeling has reference only to marriage between members of the same gens or clans (who are thus formally related) and not to two persons who according to our way of thinking are nearly related, and yet who do not belong to the same gens or clan. In a gens group a man may marry his mother's brother's daughter, or his father's sister's daughter, as she is necessarily of another gens and hence not considered related, but not his father's brother's

daughter, as this girl would be of the same gens as himself.

Totemism is also a natural, but not a necessary, development among peoples with a strong sib organization. With both gens and clan all of the members of a particular gens or clan are supposed to be descended from a single common ancestor. In most cases, this ancestor is placed so far back in point of time that he or she is an entirely mythical entity. Owing to the nature of primitive mentality all over the world, this mythical ancestor is frequently supposed to be an animal, less commonly a plant, occasionally, as in India and Japan, a celestial body, such as the sun or moon.

In view of this supposed descent and relationship it is only natural that those peoples which regarded themselves as descended from a particular animal should have regarded this animal as sacred, that they should frequently have adopted a representation of this animal as the crest of their gens, and that not uncommonly they should have refused to eat or harm any animal associated with their totemic cult.

It should, above all, be remembered that neither the gens nor the clan have ever been essentially territorial in scope. Residence in a certain locality has never made one a member of a sib. In most cases even the woman who marries into a sib does not

become a member of that sib. In the case of peoples with matrilineal clans who observe the rule that the wife live with her husband at his home, the children who grow up in any one community belong to many different clans owing to the fact that the mothers have been secured from different clans. In such cases the clans have almost no territorial background at all. With some clans and with most sibs there is quite commonly an association of the sib with a definite place, but even so the sib remains essentially a social, rather than a territorial, unit.

I have said social rather than political, for in many cases the gens and the clans exercise very few political functions. In some cases, to be sure, the gens or clan may serve as a political unit, but this practice is far from being universal. The sib is usually so big that its members are forced to split up into a number of different communities. In many such instances each such community is entirely self governing and independent of all outside control. Quite frequently each such community has its own "chief," and there may be nothing more than a social bond between the various communities which compose a gens or a clan. In such a case there is no pretense of a single chief for the whole gens. Quite commonly, however, the chief of one such local community enjoys a certain special prestige, and exercises

a suzerainty, which is sometimes vague and sometimes actual and definite, over the other communities belonging to the same gens or social group.

A few very primitive peoples have retained the simple family organization of the earliest times. A larger number of peoples have retained *either* a proto-tribe, i.e., community, *or* a sib type of organization and know of no larger unit. In most parts of the world, however, the growth of population and the consequent desire and need for larger and more comprehensive units has brought about the development of what is usually called the tribe.

There are at least two different types of tribes, widely divergent not only as regards their nature, but also in the way that each has come into being. The first type may be called the simple tribe. It is the direct development of the above mentioned "community" or proto-tribe, and consequently has been developed without any intermediate sib type of organization. It is formed by the coöperation and later the filiation (for defensive and offensive purposes) of neighboring communities.

Even before the formation of tribes, many of the

communities speak the same or a similar language. They are frequently allied by ties of blood, even though this relationship be not officially recognized by the formation of sibs. It is quite natural therefore that a group of such communities especially in times of unusual stress such as invasion of their territory by aliens, or of forced wholesale migrations due to change of climate, etc., should recognize and give expression to their underlying unity of interests by the formation of either formal or informal alliances. With most such alliances each community keeps its own "Chief," but the whole body is led by one or more Super-chiefs.

These alliances tend to disintegrate in times of peace, but continued stress either annihilates the constituent communities or forces the alliances to become more permanent in their nature. In the latter case the alliance soon develops into what we term a tribe, which is a true political unit.

Where the tribe consists of a number of widely scattered communities, there is not infrequently a sub-grouping of such communities inside of the tribe into what is usually called sub-tribes. In such instances the sub-tribe is the real political unit at all ordinary times, the whole tribe having an effective unity only at times of great crisis.

I have already stated that simple tribes and sub-tribes can develop, and frequently have developed

without the intervention of any kind of sib. In some cases, to be sure, peoples with the gens or clan type of organization form tribes of this simple variety. In this case the old gens or clan organization is gradually weakened and eventually disappears, leaving only the tribe as a whole, with only the family, and perhaps the community as sub-units.

In the vast majority of cases, however, peoples with the gens or clan type of organization tend to form tribes of a quite different sort, which we may call complex tribes. The essential feature of the complex tribe is that it is a federation not of local communities, but of whole sibs. Here the gens or the clan is retained for a long time as an integral sub-unit of the tribe, and a man is a member of the tribe only if he is a member of some gens which is a constituent part of the tribe.

In a great many instances the tribe is merely a federation of gens or clans and there is no mediate organization or grouping of gens inside of the tribe. Among most peoples with this type of organization it is customary to practise exogamy as regards the gens but endogamy as regards the tribe, i.e., a man must marry outside of his own gens, but must at the same time marry a woman who is a member of some other gens inside of the same tribe.

Among certain peoples a further complication has been developed. All of the gens constituting a tribe are divided into two groups usually called moities or phratries. Where this is done, all of the gens which form a phratry are considered so closely related that a man is not only prohibited from marrying within his own gens, he is also prohibited from marrying within his own phratry.

Among a few peoples an even more complicated organization has been evolved, namely a system whereby all the men and women of the tribe are arranged, irrespective of gens or clan, into age groups, and members of one age group are only allowed to marry into certain other specified age groups. Into the details of this complicated system we are not called upon to enter, as it has only a sporadic existence. It should be noted, however, that though the rigid age group type of organization is comparatively rare, a large number of peoples have developed a system whereby all of the men (less often the women) of the tribe, irrespective of gens, are grouped into a number of secret societies, or into one secret society with a number of ranks and stages, arranged for the most part according to age. The tendency to form this type of organization appears to be common among human beings at widely different stages of culture, and there can be no doubt that it is this same tendency which has brought about

the formation of such institutions as the Freemasons, the Odd-Fellows, and the like.

It is the first steps which are usually the hardest. The stages which led from the early primitive family to the unified tribe appear to have been very arduous, and to have occupied a very long time, irrespective of whether the tribal unity which was eventually attained was of the simple or of the complex type. Once tribal unity was secured, however, the remaining stages appear to have been comparatively easy — at least in theory. At various times and at various places we have the spectacle of tribes gathering into federations, and federations developing into nations.

Usually as the larger units came into being, the intermediate units tended to become of less importance. The gens, the phratry, even the tribe tended to become obscured once a federation of tribes had been formed. In other words even the complex tribe, with its constituent gens, tended to become like the simple tribe which had developed from the federation of sibless communities. Among some peoples, however, the gens continued to be of real social and political importance until late in the historical period, even among peoples of high cultures. Notable in-

stances of this tendency may be seen in the early Greek and Roman communities.

In glancing over the history of the development of nearly all tribe states into kingdom or empire states, we find that there have been two tendencies which have been constantly manifesting themselves. One of these is the personalization of power, the other is the transformation of the political unit from a popular to a territorial basis.

The first tendency, the personalization of power, is one which has appeared at very different stages among different peoples. Among the Slavonic peoples it came in very late. In Polynesia and parts of Africa it appeared when the peoples were still in a very "primitive" state.

In any case the personalization of power would appear to be a necessary factor before large political units can be formed. The ultimate aim of government may be democracy or the rule of the demos, but the demos itself can only be formed by the co-ordinating activity of strong personalities.

It should not be forgotten that among most very primitive peoples, the chiefs have very little power. Even among most peoples with a sib organization, power remains in the hands of the gens or clan as a whole and no one person can speak authoritatively on behalf of the whole organization. Concentration of power probably began among those peoples who

developed the totemic system. At first the concentration of authority was religious in nature and consisted in regarding the totem itself as the source and center of all power. Later the clan chief or the tribal chief was regarded as the representative and the embodiment of the totem, and hence was considered to rule by a sort of divine right.

It would certainly appear as if this were the origin of the Kingly powers in the early Egyptian and Near Eastern Kingdoms and also in the Empires of the New World. Later, by culture contact, the idea of the personalizing of power passed to peoples amongst whom the totemic organization had not been developed.

The second tendency, the establishment of the State upon a territorial basis, is for the most part a very late phase of human civilization. The organization of *all* primitive peoples is upon what may be called a popular as opposed to a territorial basis. A man is governed by the fact that he is a member of a family, a gens, or a tribe and not by the fact that he resides in a certain place.

Even the Greeks and Romans in the historical period had great difficulty in organizing a government with territorial sub-divisions as opposed to a government sub-divided into a number of gens and clans irrespective of where they dwelt. In the end the Romans succeeded in establishing a purely terri-

torial type of government, but when the Germanic invaders overthrew the Roman Empire the latter kept their "popular" type of government for some time. Theodoric, e.g., was not King of Italy, but King of the Ostrogoths, and though the Ostrogoths controlled Italy they naturally allowed the Italians to retain their own laws and customs, for they looked upon all laws and customs as a tribal matter and not as one regulated by place of residence.

In the West the territorial theory of government now holds universal sway, but in the Orient traces of the old popular organization can still be seen. In Japan until 1868 the political unit was not a territorial parish but the *Kumiai*, a group of five families. In China there is at present much controversy over extraterritoriality, but this is largely due to the fact that the Chinese in reorganizing their government are trying to reduce it to a purely territorial basis. In the old days it seemed quite natural to the Chinese that peoples with peculiar laws and customs and religious beliefs should have their own headmen and tribunals even though residing in the Celestial Empire.

In India today, even in British India, we still find many instances of the persistence of the old popular unit. The fact that a man lives in Calcutta does not mean that he is governed by a uniform Calcutta law, because as regards civil law at any rate, there is one law for the Mohammedan, another for the Hindu

and still another for the Christian, and this division is not merely theological but is based upon what is supposed to be "popular" or "racial" in origin.

A deal of the history of political institutions in Asia can be understood only if we remember that, though the beginnings of territorial organization were made in India and China many centuries ago, this type of organization resulted only in the formation of a large number of very small units having little or no connection with one another.

Both China and India, being fertile countries, early developed agriculture. The development of agriculture with its land-ownership early resulted in the at least partial breakdown of the old tribal system. This breakdown resulted both in the formation of great territorial states and also in the formation of a large number of villages, each one of which was practically independent economically.

Subsequent invasion by more warlike invaders from Central Asia resulted in the breakdown of the native states, but the villages and the village organization remained intact, although the government of the country rested in the hands of a conquering aristocracy who were organized on a non-territorial basis. The conquering aristocracy wanted only tribute and so long as each village presented tribute to the invaders it was allowed to keep its own organization, its own laws and its own customs.

It is largely due to this fact that neither China

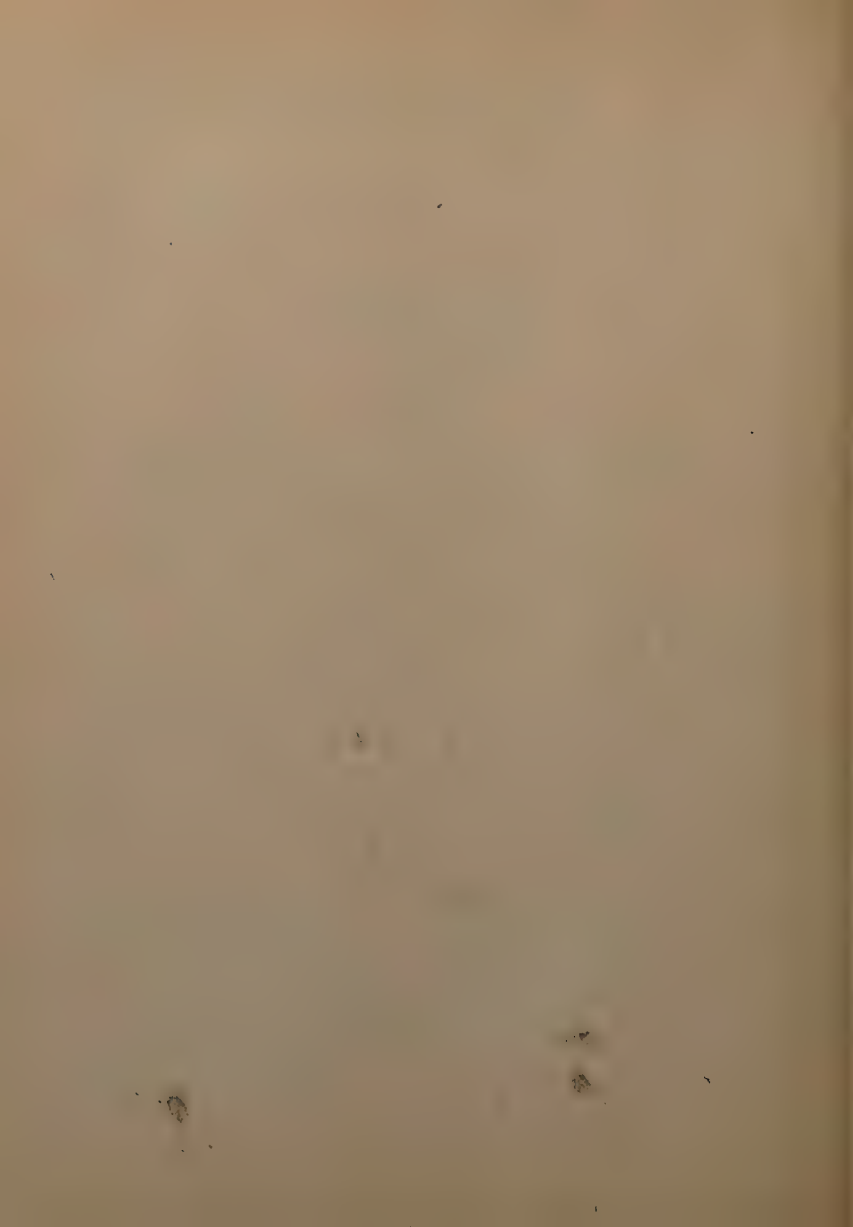
nor India ever developed national or state codes of civil law. Criminal actions affected the security of the state and so had to be punished but civil law was largely a matter of convenience and customs and hence was relegated to the local community, which for the most part remained very democratic in organization, however despotic the National Government might be.

We must leave our survey of the growth of political institutions with the establishment of government upon a territorial basis. A brief glimpse at the growth of democratic and representative institutions might well be added, but though the roots of both these institutions can be traced back to the very earliest times, their revival and application to well organized territorial states is so modern that they fall into the modern historical period, and hence lie outside the scope of the present undertaking.

So far we have dealt entirely with the development of social and political institutions. No serious study of human institutions would be complete without taking into account the development of economic institutions, such as property, organized exchange of goods, money, credit, etc., and of religious institutions, such as Shamanism, magic, priesthood, tribal, national, and universal religions, etc. Unfortunately, however, in the present instance, lack of space prevents me from more than indicating the existence of these problems.



**THE CIVILIZATIONS
OF PRE-HISTORY**
Melville J. Herskovits



THE study of man presents two principal facets. If we are to understand him we must not know only the manner in which his physical form developed, but we must also learn how his ability to construct civilization has manifested itself through the long ages which lie before the dawn of history. For, unlike the lower forms to which he is so closely related in bodily structure, man has one unique aptitude which distinguishes him from all other living beings. He is the maker and the user of tools. And not alone can he make them and use them, but he can teach those who come after him to use them.

What is the significance of this simple fact? Is it really one to be emphasized? Is it not a truism to be accepted for the mere stating? Perhaps it is all of this, yet its implications are unlimited. For, as man became a user of tools, he became more and more adept in meeting and mastering his environment, and thus in order to survive under new environmental conditions, such as changes in temperature

or humidity, and the consequent changes in food, habitat, and the like, he was no longer dependent upon changes in his bodily form, as were the lower mammals. Today we see him wandering over the face of the earth almost at will. His tool-using capacity allows him to live in the bleak Arctic or the hottest tropics with comparative safety, for it affords him the means of adapting his techniques of living rather than his physique to these varying climates.

But let us examine man's tool-using aptitude from yet another angle, and in this way focus our attention on a still more important implication. Through man's ability to make and utilize tools, and because of the marvellous aptitude for expression he possesses — language — each new generation begins its existence on the cultural shoulders of the preceding one. We transmit to our children the techniques, the social customs, and the general knowledge which we have, and they are enabled to start from that point. It is not necessary for each new generation to re-discover the lever, or the use of fire, or the process of baking clay. And so it is that civilizations are built toward constantly increasing complexity and ever greater technical efficiency in meeting the problems of existence.

The growth of civilization is thus a process of accretion, and, in this aspect, as Professor Tozzer

remarks, "it may be likened to a great snowball rolling downhill with accelerating rapidity, and increasing in magnitude all the time." For thousands of years man was without the domesticated animal, without the wheel, without agriculture, or pottery, or metal. It took hundreds upon hundreds of generations for man to learn to put a decent edge to a flint knife; millennia went by before his æsthetic impulse had even the crude technical means to express itself. In a manner somewhat like Burkitt's, we may liken the periods during which human civilization developed to a four-volume work. Our volumes will become bulkier as we reach the present day civilizations, if we think of them in terms of the complexity of the cultures each represents. If the volumes are to stand for duration of time, however, the reverse will be the case, for the older the period in human development, the longer the time it took to develop into the succeeding epoch. The volumes, which may be thought of as comprising human history, are as follows:

- IV. part 3 — Steel Age
 - part 2 — Newer Iron Age or La Tené Culture
 - part 1 — Older Iron Age or Halstatt Culture
- III. part 3 — Later Bronze Age
 - part 2 — Earlier Bronze Age
 - part 1 — Copper Age

- II. part 2 — Neolithic Period
 - part 1 — Mesolithic Period
- I. part 4 — Upper Palæolithic Period
 - part 3 — Middle Palæolithic Period
 - part 2 — Lower Palæolithic Period
 - part 1 — Eolithic Period

We cannot say what type of man lived at the dawn of prehistory. He may have been the Piltdown form, with whom many students associate the so-called "eoliths." What culture such a form as *Pithecanthropus erectus* possessed we do not know at all, nor can we be certain of the kind of civilization by means of which Heidelberg man coped with his problems of living and surviving. The very humanness of the first two forms is questioned by a number of scholars of the highest competence, and, although the status of *Pithecanthropus* is fairly agreed on, that of Piltdown man is still a matter for bitter controversy. But if we concede that Piltdown man did live during eolithic period, then his civilization was of the crudest. Whether the implements which have been found on this horizon are really "artifacts," — artificially manufactured implements, — or whether they are the product of nature, is again a matter of dispute.

Of flint, they are so shaped that they are conceivably man made tools, — picks, cleavers, scrapers, and other forms which characterize later epochs. Yet it is a question whether they were ever utilized as tools. For it has been shown by experiment that it is quite possible to reproduce these earliest, crudest forms of tools (granting they were tools) in a cement mill, where the flint nodules are battered in the kilns in much the same way as they might have been battered in swiftly flowing streams. Further, these crudest implements are not only found in the lowest deposits associated with man, but even in earlier ones, to say nothing of their being present in the finds from all stone age epochs which succeeded the eolithic.

This, however, is not the place to evaluate the evidence as to the authenticity of these crudest implements, the eoliths. If the eolithic period did actually exist, man of that day was poverty stricken indeed. He had only the veriest rudiments of civilization, — the stones at his hand for weapons with which to cope with the wild beasts that roamed the land, or for use as tools with which to make whatever material things he needed. That a period of such crude beginnings did exist in the racial history of mankind is difficult to doubt. But whether these eoliths represent that period is another matter. Certainly, Part 1 of Volume I of our history is of the haziest, and we can spend no more time in conjecture.

With the opening of Part 2, however, the blurring of the pages begins to clear, and we are well into the time when we are certain that man lived and made his way about the world. We are at the opening of the geological period which is called the quaternary, and at the beginning of the first epoch of this period, the pleistocene. We cannot yet say what type of man lived at this time. Skeletal material which will tell the story has still to be found, — here, too, we can only speculate. It is not until we reach the end of Part 3 that we can begin to correlate the kind of man that lived with the civilization he lived in.

At the outset, we are perhaps some 350,000 years, or more, removed from the present. Man of this pre-Chellean epoch had little in the way of civilization, yet it must have taken hundreds of generations to have brought him to this stage. For, although culture is passed on from one generation to the next, it accumulates but slowly when there is little cultural base on which to build. And these earliest of human pioneers had fallen heir to little enough. They knew how to hammer at a piece of flint for the purpose of shaping it until it had something of a point, or, by chance, a reasonably usable edge. This tool is all we have from this period. It is called a cleaver (by the French, a "*coup de poing*") in its more advanced form; but at this period it had not yet reached the

stage when we may dignify it by this name. It takes a specialist to distinguish one of these earliest implements from a natural curiously shaped rock, so inadequate is it. Yet it sufficed man for perhaps a hundred thousand years or more, until he learned to manipulate these flint rocks less crudely. We do not know what these people may have had in the way of bone, or wood, or even skins. Artifacts of this sort, even if they were made, would hardly survive the stretch of time that has elapsed. We may be fairly certain, however, that such perishable tools as were fashioned were also of the crudest.

But man learns, and as we reach the Chellean¹ epoch, one of some hundred thousand years further duration, we find that he had learned to fashion the cleaver into a very usable tool, made with a serviceable edge, and shaped so that there was a good handhold at the base opposite the point. This tool might be used for splitting something, or for chopping, or skinning and scraping, or even, with its heavy sinu-

¹ The epochs of prehistory are named after the "type-stations," that is, after the sites where the most typical forms are found. In this case, it is that of Chelles, in the department of Seine-et-Marne, France. Since to know the names of the location of the type-stations is not essential to our argument, they will not be given for the succeeding epochs, but the reader can find them in any standard manual of archæology. It must be understood that the cultures we are discussing are those of Western Europe, where most archæological excavation has been carried on to date.

ous margins, for sawing, while its point might make it useful as a sort of dagger, or to punch needed holes. Then, too, the flakes of flint left over from making it might be used as rude knives. Chellean times occurred during an interglacial period, and the warm climate may have made existence somewhat easier.

The Chellean epoch gave way to the colder Acheulian, and, as human culture developed, it manifested greater efficiency. The cleaver continued to be made during this epoch, but more skillfully, and of finer form. It was not as heavy and unwieldy, its edges were straighter, its point sharper. The motor control essential to skillful chipping was being learned by the countless generations who had been taught the technique, so that the flints that are found are long and slender and there are numerous secondary tools; ones that have been made from the chips that flew off the larger tool in the process of manufacture. This epoch brings us down to a time some hundred thousand years ago, and to the third part of our first volume in the work which represents the development of man's culture.

With Mousterian, or middle palæolithic times, we begin to glimpse the life of the people more clearly. We know what manner of man lived during the period. And we come to know something — by inference, it is true — of the less material aspects

of life, and indications of the use of tools made of materials more perishable than flint. *Homo neanderthalis*, an early form of man, lived during this period, which, lasting for about 25,000 years, was warm during the first part and cold during the latter portion. The men of those times used bone. In the cave of Drachenloch, high on the side of one of the Swiss Alps, we find a skinning tool made from the knee-joint of a cave-bear. Of stone, we find points, scrapers, drills, saws, hammer-stones, and knives. The cleaver begins to disappear toward the end of the epoch, not because the people no longer knew how to make it, but because the technique of working flint had developed to a point where the control allowed the artisan to make smaller and more efficient tools. Indeed, the typical artifacts are the comparatively small point, and the scraper that fits conveniently between the thumb and forefinger. And it is during the middle palæolithic that we find evidence of the fact that man had become a social animal.

Doubtless social life had existed during the preceding periods, but little has been found to prove it. But now we come upon deposits of such depth and extensiveness that we can only infer that a number of people lived in a given spot for a long, long time; and, what is more, we find evidence of what may perhaps be regarded as the most important single discovery man has made in his entire existence: the

use of fire. For in these Mousterian deposits there are ashes and bits of the charred remains of what had been burned. Whether or not man had first learned to make and use fire at this time we do not know, but that he had learned to utilize and value it is apparent. Where there has been fire, a social life has come into existence with greater stability and new ways of preparing food. Then, too, Neanderthal man had regard for his dead, for there are found remains that give undoubted evidence of purposive burial, nor is it far-fetched to argue from this that we are not far from the ultimate beginnings of religious life. The culture was widely spread. Remains of it which have been found not only cover larger areas of Europe more widely than any of the preceding civilizations, but are also reported from Africa and Asia. Man was migrating over the earth, apparently, and taking the techniques he had learned, and his customs, with him. The culture at his command was growing steadily greater; and, as we enter the upper palæolithic, we find that civilization is beginning to accelerate in its development.

Turning to the page that opens Part 4 of our first volume, we enter on a time which, to quote Dr.

MacCurdy, witnesses "a complete transformation of both cultural and ethnic elements." Neanderthal man had given way to *Homo sapiens*; we are at last, at a time some 25,000 to 30,000 years ago, in the presence of man as we know him today. Coextensive with the last glacial epoch, the fauna of the period are those to be found in subarctic areas, and it is no surprise that the animals encountered by man of the period were such as the bison, the mammoth, the cave-bear, and the reindeer. Tools appear in profusion when we compare this time with the earlier epochs. There were the rude natural flints and hammer-stones as primary tools; the manufactured cleavers, scrapers, and the like; while by the use of these the artisans made javelins, points of bone, ivory and reindeer horn, bone and horn harpoons, and even needles. The æsthetic impulse comes into play, and we begin to see the first hint of the introduction of the ability to polish as well as to chip stone.

This epoch is ushered in with the Aurignacian. Here we have as characteristic flint forms the oval scrapers, the long flint knife blades, made by hitting the flint core a sharp stroke so that a long, slender piece flies off, the graver (burin), small, delicate flint blades known as microliths, and other implements, as one can see by consulting Dr. Collie's exhaustive study of the period. It is during this time that ex-

tensive use of bone is introduced. The perforated antlers, which are known as "*batons de commandement*," are also now found for the first time. The people of the period knew the use of ornament, as the numerous beads that have been left testify. And they created the first known art-work of man. For it is this period that gives to civilization the figurines of the female form. Perhaps, as has been suggested, these were used as a magical device to assure the fertility of the women; or it may be, as others posit, that these are mere pictorial representations of women, with no subtler significance. In any event, what characterizes the art is the emphasis in the modelling of those portions of the body which have to do with reproduction. The breasts of these "Venuses," as the small statuettes are called, are, from our own standpoint, enormous, and the buttocks show steatopygia to an extent which reminds one of the contemporary Hottentot female. Not only were these figures modelled in the round, but they were also represented in engravings on the cave walls. The Aurignacians, further, knew the art of painting, or, at least, they made what we today designate as impressionistic murals in black.

It is difficult to state whether or not the Solutrean period, which follows the Aurignacian and is in turn succeeded by the Magdalenian, was a restricted local development or not. The distribution of the remains

of the period is circumscribed, and in many sites the transition from the Aurignacian to the Magdalenian occurs with no trace of the Solutrean between. The chief contribution of the epoch, which, at best, was comparatively a short one, was in the chipping of flint. It was in this that the people who lived where the remains of the time are to be found excelled. For the "laurel leaf" points which the Solutreans made are striking examples of what flint working could achieve. With perfect motor control, the pieces of flint utilized for these tools were chipped not only at the edges to shape the point, but the entire surface was worked over with a regularity which makes a rippling surface that is highly pleasing to the eye and touch. The "willow-leaf" points are also to be found in the deposits dating from this time. We have no drawing, and there is but little modelling to show if any development of the promising æsthetic achievements of the Aurignacians took place. There are but few other distinctive aspects of the material life of this people in evidence. The points, so carefully worked, have been mentioned. Drills, graters, and other tools of stone and bone, discussed above, are again to be noted. The horse assumes great importance; not, however, as a domesticated animal, for palæolithic man did not know the art of domestication, but rather as the chief article of food. In the cave of Solutré, the station from which the epoch

takes its name, the remains of over 100,000 of these animals have been found, with the bones cracked from the very evident attempt to extract the marrow, and there is every evidence that these animals were prized for their meat. Yet even this represents no new development, for Aurignacian man also found in the horse an important supply of food.

It was reserved to the people of Magdalenian times to bring the culture of the old stone age to its culmination. As far as the stone industry is concerned, the period represents a retrogression. For these men did not have the need for the stone tools their predecessors had used. Stone, during Magdalenian times, was used mainly for making finer implements in bone, horn, and ivory. Small flints, however, continued to be employed by the artists, as the tools we call gravers indicate. What were some of the innovations of the period? For one thing, the needle first appears. This, with the rude buttons that have been found, argues for the existence of sewn, or tailored clothing. Then the javelin puts in its appearance, and, with it, the throwing stick. We do not know how the hooked bone javelin points were attached to the handles to which they were undoubtedly hafted, for no hafted javelins have come down to us. But the presence of the dart thrower, an implement which, increasing the radius of the arm and thus giving greater power to the

thrower of a spear or javelin, argues that such hafting was done. The invention of this implement indicates no negligible mechanical skill, and it is still utilized by some contemporary spear using peoples. During this time the climate was steadily growing warmer. The subarctic animals, such as the woolly rhinoceros and the mammoth, disappear entirely at the close of the period, while the reindeer had begun slowly to migrate northward. However, it was still much colder in the south of France than it is today, and the caves which sheltered whole communities of Magdalenians were welcome.

But when we think of the Magdalenian period, we do not think so much of its material culture, but rather do we visualize it in terms of the art which characterizes it. For on the walls of the caves, deep in the heart of the Pyrenees, we find an astonishing and beautiful pictorial art. What function it served in the life of the people who created it we cannot say. Certainly the task was difficult for the artist, working in the flickering light of a crude oil lamp such as has been actually found near the paintings, far from any daylight. Bison, mammoths, and other animals represented in action, and painted so carefully in colors that our zoölogists can identify them, are found on the walls of many of the caves. Sometimes the art is post-impressionistic, — according to our

æsthetic valuation, to be sure, — and sometimes it represents nothing animal, nothing human, but a composite of the two. Human representations as such were never made, — and again, we can but wonder why. Nor are these amazing cave paintings the whole of the artistic product of the Magdalenians. Engravings worthy of our best masters have been found on numerous implements. Usually impressionistic, they have force, vigor, and give a sense of movement that goes with extreme subtlety and finesse in the realm of art. The subjects are usually animals, and though there is no way of corroboration, we like to visualize this Magdalenian artist as an artist for the sake of expression merely, since these engraved tools show frequent successive superimpositions of design, one over the other, — engraved for the sake of engraving. To be sure, this is merely hypothesis. There is still a third form, one which, it is hoped, will be preserved to the future as it has been to us by the application of intelligent methods of protection in the caves of southern France. For these people were able to model as well as draw the animals with which they came into contact. The bisons of the caves of Tuc d'Aubert may well be classed with the greatest artistic achievements of man. But modelling in clay, if it is to be permanent, needs the hardening influence of fire, — the pottery technique. And this was not yet one of the possessions

of mankind. Thus it is that some of these modelled forms, difficult at best to detect on the dim floors of the caves, have been destroyed by being stepped upon. Only their inaccessibility and isolation has saved them to this day.

This civilization, which marks the end of the palæolithic times, lasted until some ten to fifteen thousand years ago. It extended over a vast area, and we find regional variations which mark different localities where it is found.

But, one may well ask, is not our knowledge of the civilizations of the palæolithic at best too scanty? Do we not know too little of the actual life of the people to judge it? In what sort of dwellings did these men live from the earliest times? What sort of language did they speak? What was their religion and their social organization? What clothing did they wear? What foods other than the meat of the animals whose bones we find in the refuse heaps did they eat? These and numerous other questions will occur to one; it is unfortunate that most of them cannot be answered with anything more than guesses, shrewd though these be. We know that in the colder periods, caves were welcome as places of residence. But obviously we cannot tell whether skin tents were utilized, or houses built of wood. No remains of such have been found, and negative evidence at best is unsatisfactory. Nor do we know what lan-

guage these people spoke; though that they did speak, their physical remains testify. They were human, and, toward the latter epochs they represented the species of man on earth today. And no contemporary people is without language. As to their religion, we are again in the realm of conjecture. Did they believe in magic, and did they paint their designs on the cave walls so as to bring the animals under their control? True, there are many primitive folk who have similar practices today. But to what extent are we justified in drawing conclusions from them to apply to the peoples who lived millennia ago? They buried their dead; did they believe in an after-life? Such questions only mock our desire for knowledge. We may assume they wore skins, — it is difficult to believe that, during the glacial periods, at least, humans could have existed without them. We are practically certain that they knew no weaving (although again our evidence is negative) even as late as Magdalenian times. Certainly, also, their flesh diet must have been supplemented by the berries and fruits which, as we know from geological evidence, flourished during the short summers of the glacial periods, and even more profusely during the interglacial times when it was warm. Hunting, however, was undoubtedly the principal occupation; agriculture was unknown.

And this is what we know and do not know as we

close Volume I and turn to the transitional period between the old and the new stone ages.

With the recession of the glacial ice, we come to times that are more like our own. But our knowledge of the people who lived then is of the scantiest. The little we have of their physical remains indicates that a new type has come on the scene. Palæolithic man is without exception long-headed; these mesolithic men begin to show elements which tend to round-headedness. Do these represent a migration? And, if so, from where? Naturally, Europe is no more than a peninsular projection from the great land mass of Asia and Africa; are we not presumptuous in assuming that culture started there? It is one thing to say that most of our evidence comes from Europe; what will be found when other regions of the world are intensively investigated is for the future to tell.

Culturally, the smooth development that occurred during the epochs of the palæolithic does not carry on. The stone picks, the hooked harpoons, of the Magdalenian are retained, it is true. And, in certain of the transitional cultures the stone technique is especially productive of microliths, or very small tri-

angular or trapezoid flint flakes. Of the art, of the production of needles and buttons, of throwing sticks and of the other cultural elements of the earlier period little remains. But the painted pebbles, unlike anything that has gone before, and the meaning of which we cannot even guess, come in.

There are several types of these transitional cultures. Again, the geographical distribution of this civilization in Europe is greater than that of any preceding culture; man was spreading to the north as the ice receded. We have the Azilian culture in the south, the Tardenoisian in the north of France. A newly discovered culture that is late Azilian and termed Austurian is located in Spain, while the cultures distinguished as Maglemosian and Kitchen Midden are found in Denmark. Finally there is a somewhat more highly developed culture named the Campignian, which some students classify as mesolithic, others as neolithic.

The Azilian was the first transitional culture to be discovered. And with its discovery, something of the bewilderment with which students had tried to account for the development of the palæolithic into neolithic civilizations was dissipated. Harpoons are found that are broader and flatter than Magdalenian ones; some small round flint tools that are poorly made, rough bone awls, and, almost everywhere, the painted pebbles. The paint is red ochre,

and the designs are tantalizing in their suggestion of possible significance. They are usually rough and always conventional; there is no attempt at representation. It has been suggested that they may represent human figures, that they might have been money, that they were used as talismans, and even that they represent rudimentary beginnings of an alphabet. All these explanations are ingenious; none are satisfactory. The Azilians lived in the mouths of caves or perhaps in rock shelters, often where palæolithic peoples had lived before them. The Tardenoisians, on the other hand, seem to have lived in the open, and the deposits are closer to the surface. This culture is difficult to define. It has, according to MacCurdy, "elements in common with both the Azilian and the Campignian. . . . Pure Tardenoisian culture can only be distinguished by the absence of painted pebbles." The same is the case with Asturian, which is perhaps only a late local development of the Azilian.

The Maglemosian culture of Scandinavia represents the earliest type in that region, and is named from the great swamp (Maglemose) on the island of Zealand. The people who lived there used flint microliths that resemble those characteristic of the Tardenoisian, but here we have a clue as to their use. For they have been found sunk into a bone haft so as to make teeth for a kind of barbed har-

poon which is, indeed, the typical tool of the period. Maglemosian man was a fisherman, as the numerous bone fish hooks testify. Where the people who had this culture came from is not known; they are probably the earliest Scandinavians. The culture known as that of the Kitchen Middens, so called from the enormous refuse heaps in which the remains of the period are lodged, contains some of our earliest examples of pottery, — crude, it is true, but pottery nevertheless, with all the advantages which baked clay give one. Stone and bone implements are found, but nothing that is startlingly unlike that of the rest of the period, especially the Maglemosian civilization.

The neolithic, which, roughly, began about 8,000 years ago, presents a picture which is much more akin to our own. The amount of information concerning it is vast. The cultures are complex, the population seems to have increased, and it is possible to distinguish at least four regions in Europe alone, — areas wherein cultures having typical differences are found: the eastern area, where west-Asiatic peoples pressed forward by way of the Danube as far as Germany, a northern area including Scandinavia

and the lands bordering on the Baltic, the western region of Europe and England, and the shores of the Mediterranean. In the last the culture was considerably advanced over that of the other regions, and from it came the urge which took civilization into the period which the next great series of inventions centering about the discovery of the use of metals made possible, — the bronze and iron ages, which overlap the dawn of historic times in their northward march.

All this had occurred in Europe. What of the rest of the world? That palæolithic man lived in Africa we are certain, — the finds of the Logan Museum's expeditions in the north, the artifacts from the Congo and other parts of the continent that are on record, make it plain that man's occupancy of Africa has been a matter of millennia. But the details of these cultures are scanty. The African upper palæolithic, known as the Capsian (Aurignacian), developed, it is thought, through a Mesolithic culture into one not unlike the neolithic of northern Europe. Yet this holds only for the Sahara, — what occurred to the south is still a closed book.

In Asia, there were certainly human inhabitants as late as the palæolithic. Nelson's important finds in the Gobi desert show typical pre-neolithic as well as neolithic artifacts, and on the basis of the published findings of others who have worked in China,

he finds further support for his thesis. But where this culture came from is in doubt, although he leans to the hypothesis that it seems to have come from without, — probably from the west. Siberia, western Asia, India and the Malay peninsula are almost archæological *terra incognita*. Yet *Pithecanthropus erectus* lived in Java. Nothing can be more certain than that more intensive work in Africa and Asia will bring results of the most significant nature for our knowledge of human prehistory.

The problem of the American Indian, again, is a difficult one. Some students maintain that the migration across the Behring Strait occurred after the final recession of the glacial ice, — that is, in post-Magdalenian times. Yet it seems strange that in a short 10,000 years the tremendous diversity of cultures that were found in the two Americas at the time of Columbus could have developed. True, most of the Indians had not advanced beyond the early neolithic type of culture. The wheel is not found on this hemisphere among the aborigines, nor domesticated animals, yet the bow and arrow, agriculture, and other typical neolithic contributions to civilization were in the possession of the American Indian. What did he bring with him? When did he come? Indeed, even the question of how he got here is far from agreed upon. Why did he never independently develop the wheel, or the working of bronze or iron, when he evolved the marvellous

technique of beating gold and carving stone that we find in central America, and attained one of the most perfect and complicated calendars the world has ever known, to say nothing of the fact that, among the Maya, he was well on the way toward the establishment of a system of writing? These are some of the more tantalizing questions that only can be answered by further careful and painstaking research.

It would be impossible, in any space short of book length, to describe the neolithic cultures of all these regions. Let us rather confine ourselves to following the development of man's achievement in Europe (since it is here that most research has been done) as his culture approaches the complexity and diversity seen at the beginning of historic times; let us note the contributions to human knowledge and the business of living made by neolithic peoples, peoples who, so far as we can see, were essentially no different from us of today. An outstanding contribution of neolithic times was the development of the ability to polish, rather than to chip, stone. Earlier students of prehistory were wont to differentiate the old from the new stone age by this difference. Today we know better, for chipping was never so highly developed as during the age of polished stone, the neolithic. Specimens to be seen in any museum of prehistory will soon demonstrate that the one was not forsaken for the other, — sometimes the body

of an axe was chipped while the edge was polished. So long as man used stone for his implements and weapons, he chipped as well as polished it. Yet polishing not only made possible a much thinner and more exactly shaped implement than the earlier technique, but perhaps even originated forms which we today know in metal, although this is not certain.

Trade developed in neolithic times. Thus, we know that flint was mined on a large scale, and mines in the north of France wherein the antlerlike picks of the miners and their lamps are preserved have been discovered. The flint, brought above ground, was worked in workshops, and when we find a peculiar kind of flint, found only in central France, distributed in the remains all over France, Switzerland, Italy, and Belgium, we can only conclude that trade was lively.

But undoubtedly the greatest contribution of neolithic man to human civilization was the fact that he learned how to tame plants and animals. It is in this period that we first have evidences of agriculture, and that we first find the remains of domesticated animals. What this meant to humanity need not be pointed out. In assuring a steady supply of food, in making man sedentary instead of the roaming hunter, in allowing a greater population to live in a given area, and the consequent specialization made possible by the people living there, in pro-

moting ideas of property and the development of close-knit political and social life, the effects of these discoveries must be counted as inestimable. Social leisure, whence come all the graces of life and most of our knowledge, would be infinitely more difficult to attain without domesticated animals and plants, if, indeed, we could attain them at all. And with all this goes the tendency to build villages, to organize for defense, to stimulate invention of such implements as the sickle, the hoe, and perhaps the wheel. What animals were possessed by neolithic man? We know of the dog and the cow, the sheep, the goat and the horse. Of plants he had wheat and barley and millet. Certainly a fundamental differentiation from the period described in Volume I of our work is apparent.

Other aspects of neolithic civilization that have had far-reaching effects must also be mentioned. Man invented pottery early in this period, and, as the era developed into the metal age which succeeded it, the wheel on which pottery is turned, which, put to other uses, made for transportation in a manner more efficient than could be dreamed of were it not present. The pottery is characteristically different for the various areas mentioned above, both in shape and in decoration. In the eastern area there is a tendency to use the so-called "meander" design and its geometric stylization, the western area tends

to have what may be called "finger-print" decoration or regularly placed depressions made in the clay before it is baked, in the north there is the "cord" design and the close zig-zag which is favored. Housing and town life developed, too. The pile dwelling of the Swiss lakes is perhaps the best known type, since it is from this region that we have learned much of neolithic culture. For the dwellings were made of wood, and they often burned. And the charred contents which dropped into the mud of the lake bottom were preserved, to come to light only at periods of exceptional drought. We know from the remains that cloth was woven, — another technique that man of earlier times did not have, — since charred bits of cloth have been found. We also know that the ability to intertwine twigs as well as threads was known to the inhabitants of these villages, for remains of baskets have been discovered. And that medical knowledge had gone no little distance is testified by the skulls on which operations had been performed; and from which the patient had recovered.

What of neolithic art? That the æsthetic impulse which seems to lie deep in the human psyche was not absent is seen from the decorations which are found, for example, on the pottery, or in the perfection of proportion and control which the chipped and polished implements of the period exhibit. But art

in the sense in which we apply the term to the paintings and engravings of the upper palæolithic era does not exist. Charming pottery forms, graceful meanders on the pottery, well proportioned geometric decoration and excellent color values, all are found. And, in the rock shelters of northern Spain, there are undoubted though crude paintings and engravings from the late neolithic and early copper age times. That these constitute authentic art cannot be denied, and no one can see the products of the neolithic peoples, particularly in pottery, and feel them to have been inartistic. But that nothing to compare with the achievements of their forerunners was produced by them must be admitted, though always with the proviso that we do not know what excavations of the future will bring to light.

The neolithic periods in Europe and the Near East are not to be regarded as lying in any one time plane any more than they are to be thought of as confined to any one geographical area. For, shortly after the onset of the neolithic in the north of Europe, we find that in the lands bordering the Mediterranean there were cultures based on the use of metal which were already beginning to flourish. While the northern

regions were still in the times when the cultural level was comparatively low, the Egyptians and the peoples to the east were in possession of the full flower of neolithic civilization. The Egyptian neolithic is a period of great complexity. Work in ivory and bone, pottery and wood, with ornaments of gold, silver and copper have been preserved to us in the funeral trappings of the dead. It was after this, when the country was consolidated under the kings of the first dynasty, that the utilization of copper comes on the scene. And with the development of the age of copper, we find ourselves at about the beginning of historic times for this region.

If we follow the shores of the Mediterranean and consider the islands from east to west, we come to another of the great cultural centers of late prehistoric times, — the island of Crete. The finds at Knossos which date from the neolithic have great depth, indicating that the culture was present in the island long before the copper and bronze ages, or the time of the Minoan civilization. Three periods are assigned to this fascinating culture; the early, middle, and late Minoan, and they reach from about 3400 to 1400 B.C. During this time the culture of the island had spread to Greece, fertilizing the Mycenaean civilization there. Already, in the earliest copper age period there was a flourishing civilization: "The well-planned cities that needed no wall

to defend them, testify to the establishment of an orderly polity and the sovereign sway of law. The citizens sailed the seas in high prowed ships and amassed great wealth by peaceful trade," as the rich mortuary finds testify, and Childe believes that "in industry the absence of unlimited labor power at the disposal of a despot necessitated a concentration on the invention and elaboration of tools that foreshadows the most distinctive feature of European civilization." Certainly what was made with these tools is of the highest; the artistic products have long stood at the peak of the art of the time, and we find a free naturalism in the painted vases, and a fineness of proportion in the implements which have survived, that point to a sophisticated culture.

Troy and the cities which, one below the other, have yielded information of pre-Homeric periods, is known to everyone. It, too, formed a part of this region where the copper and bronze ages developed. In part it was a reflex of the trade of the maritime peoples, for, situated as it was on the shores of the Hellespont, it was a central point to which they brought their wares. At the period of earliest settlement it was a rude village, but the inhabitants knew how to make pottery and had other neolithic techniques. As the first town gave way to the second, we have a real city, with high walls of stone. During this time there was conflict, for the city was de-

stroyed and rebuilt three times. In this period, too, the potter's wheel was introduced, and there is, in consequence, a greater refinement in the resulting product. Gold and silver were known and prized, and beakers and flasks of these precious metals are found in the deposits. The bronze alloy used at Troy contained some ten per cent tin, and the resulting artifacts are described as "remarkable." Well proportioned, well made, and beautifully decorated, they contrast strikingly with the products of the following cultures, which were much poorer. Jewelry and the utilization of precious stones also mark this period of Trojan history. Where this civilization came from, even the exact time of its reign, is a matter of dispute. Some hold that it came from the Nordic provinces, yet this seems fantastic, for at this time not even the beginning of the bronze age had made its appearance in Germany and Scandinavia. It seems much safer to refer this brilliant civilization to the general Mediterranean area, of which it formed part and parcel. At about 2000 B.C., the culture of this level was brought to a close by the sacking and destruction of the city. The two following towns, miserable settlements, yield almost nothing. The deposits are deep, but little is to be learned from them. Troy V began the recovery, and its successor, Troy VI, is the Troy of Homer. Here once again we have something of the brilliance

of the earlier period, but, with the historic destruction by the Achæans in 1200 B.C., it, too, ends, and by this time the story has already stepped full into the light of written history.

On the Greek mainland, in southern Italy and the island of Malta, and on west to Sardinia and Spain, the copper and bronze age civilizations spread. They developed as they diffused, and the carriers brought with them something of the complexity which we know at the dawn of history. In Spain, several periods can be traced following the end of the mesolithic era. With the coming of the neolithic, the region exhibits one of those cultural spurts which are found from time to time in different areas. The Tardenoisian civilization was replaced by one characterized by polished stone axes, and this by two copper age periods, during which pottery was well made and the stone industries continued with the skill that their earlier workmanship showed. Here, also, there is the appearance of artificial tombs, which are of importance in throwing light on the problem of where the alignments and dolmens and menhirs of Brittany came from. A complete sequence of the development of these dolmens has been described, and the contents of the graves show the manner in which the civilization of Spain of the period grew into complexity. It is not strange that Spain should have had this culturally rich epoch, for

with the trading peoples of the eastern Mediterranean demanding ores, the mineral deposits of Spain must have played an important rôle. And with the cultural fertilization from without went development from within, that brought about the conditions found at the end of the early bronze age. However, this was not to continue, and after the spurt Spain lapsed into cultural desuetude.

Thus we have seen the developing bronze age cultures spread from Egypt westward. Was there no diffusion to the North? Undoubtedly, nor can one date the beginning of the bronze age for Scandinavia any later than 1600 B.C. For influences were not only coming in from the south, but from the east as well. Well established neolithic civilizations flourished in the basin of the Danube, and these, too, had their development, while there was simultaneous independent growth in the far north, and in the villages of the Alps, as well. What are some of the characteristics of the bronze age civilization? One of the most common tools was that of the type called the celt, which developed from the later stone age, through the copper and on into the bronze. At first shaped like a chisel, it later developed a ridge along the length, and finally ended with socketings for the haft. Daggers are also found, the ancestors of the weapons that are still known to us. Rapiers and swords, arrow heads, and lances are some of the

other weapons of the period. The lowly pin was one of the early discoveries; Troy II knew them, and early Italy knew the safety pin as well! Burkitt lists numerous other articles made out of bronze in his summary of the characteristics of the period: gouges, knives, sickles, bracelets, buttons, armor, harness, and the like. And sandstone moulds have been found for all these. Pottery is carried through the period, as, of course, it has been to the present time. The trading that was characteristic must have extended over vast areas; amber is found in the south of Italy and Crete, Grecian marbles in Sumeria, Ægean phallic beads on the Danube. Dwellings were both of the pile-dwelling type, built out over lakes (as was characteristic of certain regions during the neolithic), and land villages surrounded by walls made of stone put together without mortar. The disposal of the dead by cremation, characteristic of late neolithic times, continued and grew as the culture developed into the metal ages, yet burial was also practised, particularly in the western portion of Europe.

With the coming of the age of iron, we turn to the last volume of our work, and we find ourselves

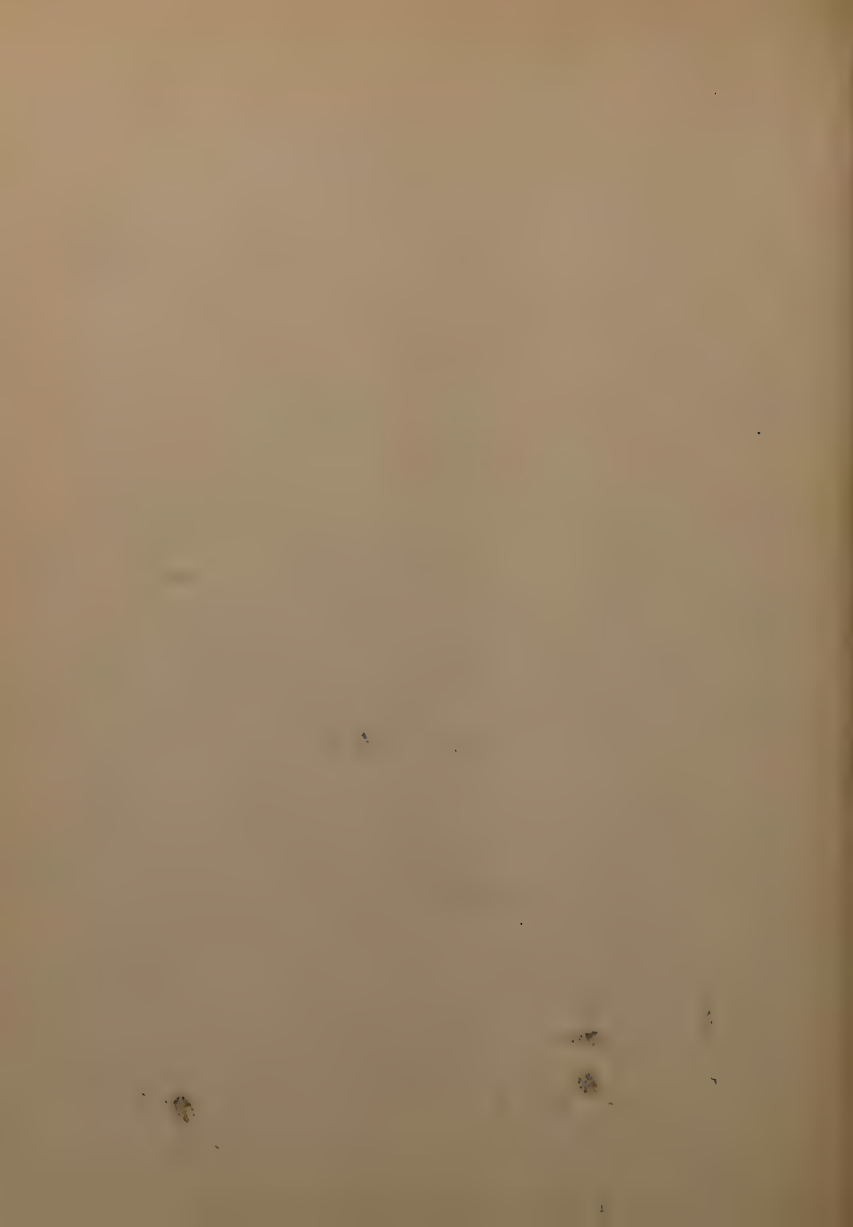
at the section where the record is a written one. Thus we arrive at a greater knowledge of the times to be studied, — contemporary information, preserved for us, and of a kind that can fill in the tantalizing blank spaces which the record we have for periods preceding, kept only in imperishable objects, must leave untold forever.

As the curtain of history rises from south to north over Europe, over Asia, over Africa and the Americas and the South Sea islands, we find in all of them civilizations that are going concerns, that have well established ways and means of meeting the problems of life, that are not children of the moment. We have glimpsed how tortuously civilizations developed in Europe. All cultures have the same amount of time behind them; some have travelled faster than others in the time they have all been existing. At the onset of historic times, we find the lead held by the regions about the Mediterranean. Today, perhaps, it is the western Europeans who have attained dominance; certainly this is true from the point of view of the material aspects of civilization. Where culture will flower tomorrow no one can tell. That culture is anything but static, that it is something dynamic, something of change, no matter how poor it be; that it feeds on what it has and develops on the basis of its past development, is plainly to be read in the tale of prehistory.

The cultural life expounded in the work we have followed through in its first three volumes, palæolithic, neolithic, and bronze ages, is still being written. But whatever is written in the future will be based on the humble beginnings of earlier times.

Bibliographic Note: An understanding of the development of human achievement is a matter of the research of many scholars over a period of several decades. It is well, therefore, to give some of the standard works and recent papers to which the reader may be referred for more extended and specialized treatment than has been possible in this discussion.

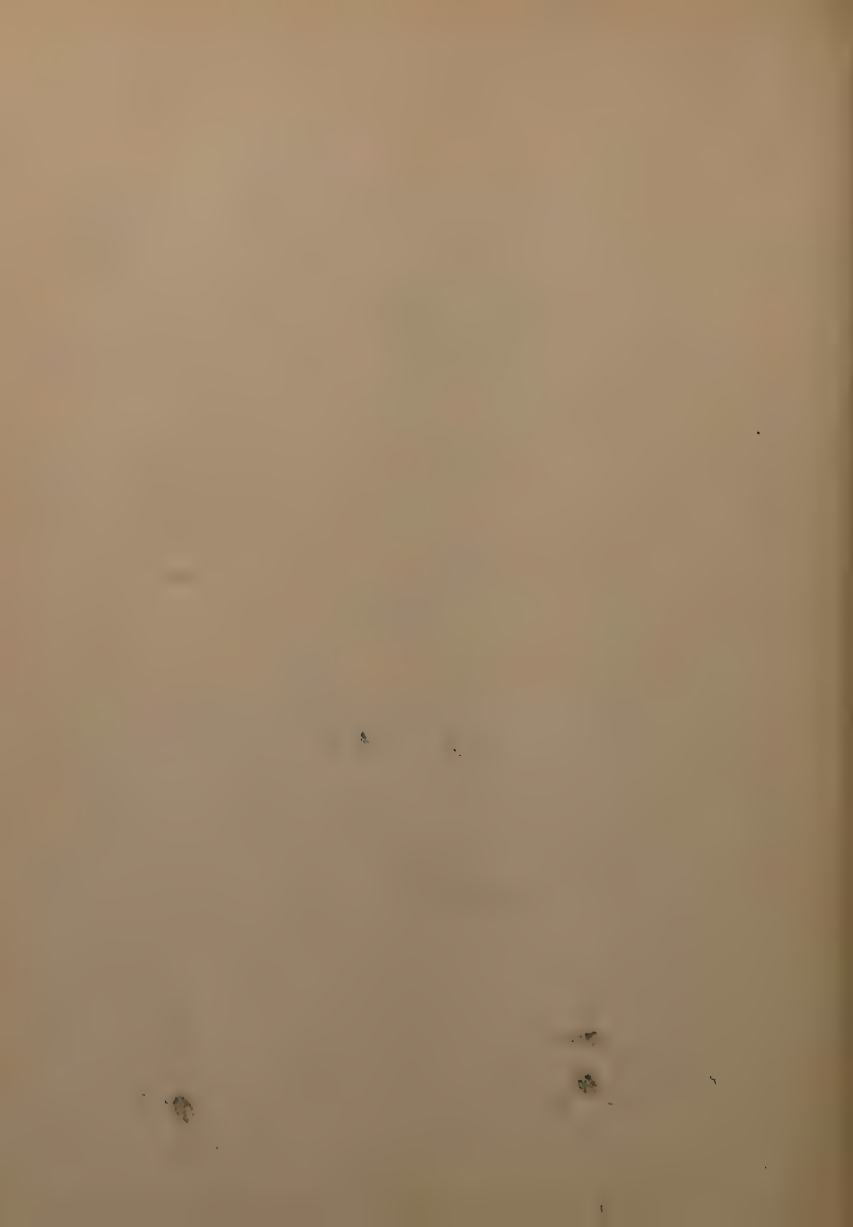
The best general work on European prehistory during palæolithic and neolithic times is: "Human Origins, a Manual of Prehistory," by George Grant MacCurdy, New York, 1924. A somewhat broader consideration, which takes in the prehistory of the Near East as well as of Europe, is: "Prehistoric Man, a General Outline of Prehistory," by Jacques de Morgan, New York, 1925. A specialized description of the Aurignacian epoch, which has been mentioned in the discussion above, and which treats of the period in North Africa as well as in Europe, is: "The Aurignacians and Their Culture," by George L. Collie. Logan Museum Bulletin, vol. i, No. 1, Beloit College, Wisconsin, 1928. For the Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages, both in Europe and farther east, two excellent references are available: M. C. Burkitt, "Our Early Ancestors, an Introductory Study of Mesolithic, Neolithic and Copper Age Cultures in Europe and Adjacent Regions," Cambridge, 1926, and V. Gordon Childe, "The Dawn of European Civilization," New York, 1925. A recent work on South African prehistory which will widen the reader's field of vision is: "South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint," by M. C. Burkitt, Cambridge, 1928, while for a summary of recent archæological discoveries in China one may consult N. C. Nelson, "Archæological Research in Northern China," in *The American Anthropologist*, vol. xxix (n.s.), 1927, pp. 177-201. North American archæology is summarized in "The American Indian," by Clark Wissler, chapter xv, "Archæological Classification."





**MAN'S POLITICAL
HISTORY**

Ferdinand Schevill



WHEN, in the course of his development, primitive man first began to form more or less permanent social groups, he was obliged to accept a control which meant a limitation of his original individual freedom. For the loss suffered he may be judged to have received an adequate return in an increased security. The control took on many forms but was chiefly made effective by some sort of law-court, legislature, and executive, that is, by political institutions which in their sum we define as government. From the remotest period man must have experimented with government, but we know very little about these experiments till the time when he had advanced sufficiently to invent writing, thereby creating a record which later generations might peruse.

Because the dark and remote centuries, during which we are dependent for our knowledge of our ancestors on burial finds and other archæological remains, yield only scant information touching gov-

ernment, they have been designated by political historians as prehistory. For these scholars history, properly speaking, does not begin till written records put in an appearance, till, let us say, about six thousand years ago. The present rapid survey of man's political history will therefore embrace the period between 4000 B.C. and the present day. And further, let it be noted, that while, theoretically, every society that ever came to birth within that span of time in any of the five continents belongs within our purview, practical considerations will oblige us to leave the overwhelming majority of these societies out of consideration and to concentrate upon those states and peoples which are of outstanding importance for our existing civilization. That means that we shall content ourselves with beginning our inquiry in the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile valleys; passing thence to the developments in Greece and Rome, we shall take up the political forms which after the fall of Rome saw the light in medieval Europe and thereafter, during the last one thousand years, have evolved into the political systems which meet our eye throughout the world at the present time.

It was during the stone age and before the coming into use of metal that man first established himself permanently in the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile valleys. We know the former valley from its Greek name as Mesopotamia (literally Land-between-the-

ivers) and the latter as Egypt. To these two lowlands man was attracted by their warm climate, by the river which gave a permanent supply of water and afforded an easy means of communication, and by the inexhaustible bottoms of clay utilizable as building material in the shape of sun-dried brick. Among these factors far and away the most important, however, was the river. In the case of either valley it flooded vast areas once a year and, on receding, left behind a rich alluvial deposit in which grain could be grown with a minimum of effort. It was the lure of an abundant and permanent food supply which primarily induced men to settle; and, once settled, they organized themselves into agricultural villages, of which the more favorably situated, growing in numbers, took up trade and industry and presently exhibited the busy and diversified aspect of a town.

The story of civilized government begins about 4000 B.C. with the river towns of Mesopotamia and Egypt; and although much remains to be learned from records still to be discovered and deciphered, and although it is clear that there are far from negligible differences between the two areas, it may yet be said that they move broadly along parallel lines of development. The earliest central feature of the river town was the temple, home of the local god and of his ministers, the priests, who were the

wise men, healers, and magicians of the community. Beneath them or at their side figured a headman entrusted with the constantly growing volume of secular affairs. Between priest and civil ruler there developed before long an inevitable rivalry with the result that in the end the victory tended to incline to the latter, chiefly because he acted as leader of the people in their wars with their neighbors and consequently had an armed force behind him. However, so powerful was the priesthood, representing as they did an inherited mass of religious beliefs, that if the successful warrior desired to make his triumph permanent, he was obliged to conciliate the wise men of the temple by taking them into partnership. As soon as a highly gifted military leader appeared who was able to bring many settlements under his scepter and to unify a considerable area, we already have in outline the form of government which became the characteristic product of this corner of the world and which was destined periodically to recur through thousands of years of Mediterranean history. I am speaking of the oriental monarchy.

The oriental monarchy was the historical means of giving unity to an area which, geographically and

economically one, was settled by a people that had reached a high civilization. Its representative was the monarch, who, as head of the army, was in a position to enforce his will, and who assumed the rôle of supreme judge, legislator, and executive. Aiming at absolute power but unable to override the priests, he left them undisturbed in the exercise of their religious prerogatives, exacting in return for his support of the temple the proclamation to the people that he was the elect of God, in substance God's son and earthly substitute. Head of church and state, he sat upon his throne not as the chosen of the people but by divine right. The great pharaohs of Egypt, builders of the majestic pyramids and temples still scattered along the Nile, were sovereigns of this sort, as were also the wide-ruling conquerors of the Tigris-Euphrates basin who over a stretch of several thousand years established the succession of realms known to us as Babylonia, Assyria, Chaldæa, and Persia.

Whenever a monarch of either of these two teeming areas had reduced his immediate valley to subjection, following the law of expanding life, which operates as a constant force in history, he tried to extend his authority by bringing his neighbor of the other valley under his scepter. For centuries the struggle swayed to and fro across the bridge-land of Syria, and sometimes Egypt was top dog and

sometimes Mesopotamia. The victory which ended the long drawn-out conflict fell to the Tigris-Euphrates valley in the days of the ascendancy of Persia, and in 525 B.C. a Persian sovereign broke forever the independence of Egypt by bringing it under his might. This conquest carried Persia to the shores of the Mediterranean and led to the dream of bringing all the east-Mediterranean lands under a single law. Persia therefore pushed on into Asia Minor and on the western shore of that peninsula came for the first time into touch with a new civilization, the Greek, and a new polity, the Greek city-state.

The self-dependent city-state is the fascinating and memorable creation of a people called Greeks or Hellenes who dwelt in the islands of the Ægean sea as well as along its European and Asiatic shores. The center of their might was the peninsula of Greece, a land of difficult and barren mountains, isolated valleys, and a jagged shore line with innumerable bays and inlets. These geographical peculiarities explain why it was that when the early contiguous village settlements coalesced under a king, dwelling in a citadel or walled town, there

sprang into being a political unit which immediately inaugurated an intensive rivalry with numerous neighbor units of similar character and strength. Under these circumstances the city-state, proud of its independence, composed of self-reliant citizens, cherishing its particular gods and breathing defiance against its neighbors, became the peculiar expression of Greek civilization. The Greeks were the first people to develop a blazing patriotism, but it was strictly local, coterminate with the city's rule, and unwilling and unable to lift itself to the concept of the race or nation. In other words Greek patriotism did not rise or at best only rarely and ineffectively rose to the vision of a comprehensive unity. Such a broad program had come naturally and inevitably to the geographically unified valleys of the Nile and the Two Rivers. The king, grandly towering above his subjects, was its personification; and its welcome fruit was civil order under authoritative law. But because unity sacrificed the freedom of the individual, the oriental monarchy regularly tended to repress the energy and initiative of its subjects until stagnation spread like a green slime over a civilization controlled by a single will and threatened to smother it to death. From this encroaching lethargy, it is true, the societies of the East rescued themselves with heartening frequency, but always because new wine was poured into the old bottles by the advent

on the scene of a new people representing a fresh and uncontaminated stream of human vigor. Unity, as a political principle, had therefore already given evidence of its advantages and disadvantages, and in the form of the Persian empire, the largest and most effective expression which it had thus far attained, came into conflict with the city-state, representative of the diametrically opposed ideal of freedom.

But before the historic clash came, the Greek city-state had gone through a number of internal transformations which require our attention. In its first form it came out of a simple herding and agricultural society, of which the walled town was the center of refuge and the king no more than the military leader heading a body of clansmen essentially his equals. But war and its rewards of land and booty produced a fighting nobility, which gradually displaced the king and took the power into its own hands. Throughout the length and breadth of Greece monarchy tended to be succeeded by a kind of feudal régime; and this second, nobiliary phase of the city-state lasted until the advent of trade and industry gave birth to new social classes which attempted to oust the nobles from power and set up a more popular system. All the Greek city-states without exception passed in the course of time from the first to the second stage; and most of them at least tried to

press on from feudalism or oligarchy to democracy. Land-bound Sparta furnishes the outstanding example of the conservative town which clung stubbornly to the oligarchical forms of the second stage. Athens, on the other hand, because it became a focus of Mediterranean trade and a meeting place of cosmopolitan influences, developed an extraordinary flexibility and ended by adopting some of the most extreme forms of popular self rule ever evolved by any community at any time.

When the king of Persia in the expansion of his rule over the Near East penetrated at last to the shores of the Mediterranean, he stood among the small Greek city-states of Asia Minor and looked out with lively astonishment over the busy network of similar polities among the Ægean islands and along the Hellenic coasts beyond. Since, entangled with one another in bitter animosities, they seemed incapable of resisting his might, he fell upon them without ado and inaugurated a greater labor than any ever undertaken by Hercules; for, rather than kneel to the foreigner, they patched up their petty quarrels and with painful exceptions and grievous hesitations, it is true, engaged to stand shoulder to shoulder in close formation against the oppressor. The consequence was a clash of two civilizations, or, what is of greater interest to our particular inquiry, of two systems of government founded each on a

different political principle, the one on unity and obedience, the other on freedom and self-assertion. It was Athens that took it on itself to breathe into its sister states the spirit of resistance; and it was Athens that was chiefly instrumental in winning the great victories of Marathon (490 B.C.) and Salamis (480 B.C.). On this triumphant turning back of Persia, there followed, as everyone remembers, the glamorous development of Greek art and literature, also largely an Athenian contribution and still regarded by the world as rarely, if ever, equalled.

But the purely political consequences of the victory over Persia proved nothing less than disastrous to the victors. For enviously and imperfectly united to meet the onslaught of Asia, the Greek cities fell violently apart as soon as they felt once more secure. Ranged in discordant leagues, more particularly under the leadership of the two most powerful cities, Sparta and Athens, they waged unceasing war with one another and in a comparatively short time succeeded in bleeding themselves to death. Hardly more than a century after Salamis the overindulgence in an excessive and cantankerous spirit of freedom had brought the Greek cities to an exhaustion hardly distinguishable in its effect from the corrupt stagnation which was the recurrent danger of the unity ideal of the orient. At this juncture a new society of

youthful and unimpaired vigor began to take shape along the northern border of Hellas. It was called Macedonia and was organized for war and conquest under a capable sovereign, Philip by name. With comparatively little effort Philip and his son, Alexander, who followed him, gathered in the Greek cities as one picks up fragments of a broken mosaic from the ground.

Then Alexander, head of a Greece united at last but no longer free, turned his gaze on Persia; and because with three smashing blows, delivered between 334 and 331 B.C., he felled Persia to the ground, assumed possession of its lands, and extended his empire to the Indus river, he is called the Great. For the first time in history all the countries around the bend of the eastern Mediterranean were now brought together under a single scepter. How to rule this vast conglomerate of peoples? For Alexander, pondering a solution, there was no discoverable formula except the one supplied by the long history of these areas, the oriental monarchy. Accordingly he allied himself with all the priesthoods of his many peoples, had himself declared divine, and ruled as absolute monarch. But when he died (323 B.C.), still a young man, the too rapidly constructed imperial edifice promptly collapsed. His generals quarreled over his heritage and ended by dividing it among themselves. The whole East fell

into an anarchic confusion which dragged out an interminable length till the advent of Rome.

We now turn to this extraordinary commonwealth of Rome. Planted in central Italy on the Tiber river within easy reach of the sea, it began its existence as a city-state and repeated with many variations the political experiences of the city-states of Greece. Its primitive kings were succeeded by a group of nobles, called patricians and exercising power through an institution named the senate; and when trade brought a growing population, the patricians were obliged to admit the people to a certain share in the rule. Here was a community politically free and summoning its citizens to be self-reliant and energetic. And so magnificent was the Roman response to this appeal and so unusually endowed for war, law, and administration did this Latin people prove itself to be that in the course of a few hundred years it brought under its rule first, Italy, then the lands of the western Mediterranean, and finally the dispersed scraps of Alexander's former empire, Greece, Macedonia, Asia Minor, and the rest. By the second century B.C. this magnificent work was already ap-

proaching completion and the whole Mediterranean, east and west, in process of being drawn into a single political system.

However, before the work could be completed the old republican constitution of Rome passed through a terrific crisis. Shaped in the first place to meet the needs of a small city-state, it proved itself unsuited to fulfill the more complicated requirements of a world empire. The great conquests of the Republic were indeed due to the unexampled energy of the Roman people; but they were held together only because a limited body of specialists, assembled together in the senate, retained the direction of the government in their hands. Unfortunately the individual senators, being human, gradually enriched themselves at the expense of their fellow citizens, became haughty and corrupt, and had at last to face the rebellion of the people desirous of exercising a larger political responsibility. The result was a civil war which threatened to bring about the destruction of Rome, nay, of the whole Mediterranean civilization. After numerous ups and downs it ended in the defeat of the senate and in a free hand for the victor to carry through an appropriate reorganization of the state. Although the victory went ostensibly to the people, the real victor was the people's leader in the war, Julius Cæsar; and when he was murdered (44 B.C.) by a band of conspirators representing the

defeated senatorial party, his work was continued by his heir, Augustus. The old republican constitution was shelved to be gradually forgotten, and in its place there arose, not overnight of course but in slow stages, an effective administration of the whole body of Mediterranean countries as Roman provinces under a single lord or emperor basing his power on an irresistible standing army. In short, the enlarged Roman world, threatened with catastrophe under the antiquated republican constitution, resorted to the only device for ruling a large area that had yet been discovered, and fell into the mold of the oriental monarchy. So closely was the oriental model followed that Augustus was even declared divine and his statue set up and worshiped in the temples.

Of the Roman empire as a means of binding together the discordant Mediterranean world under a comprehensive program of what we would now call peace and progress it may be said sweepingly that it was an amazing success. At least at first, that is, for a hundred to two hundred years. Then the curse we have found regularly to beset this form of government put in an appearance. Absolute monarchy aims at the great desiderata of unity and peace, but it drains its subjects of their highest personal possession, of their initiative and will-to-live. As a result

a sort of helpless fatalism began to mark the state of mind of the inhabitants of the Roman empire which ended in the collapse through dry-rot of all its once imposing institutions, economic, social, religious, and political. And when at this turn, made covetous by the visible decline of the wealthy Mediterranean peoples, those rough and vigorous barbarians of the northern plains and forests, the various German and Slav tribes, began to pour across the Roman boundaries and seize whatever came to hand, the degenerate descendants of the Latin conquerors offered but a feeble resistance. In the course of the fifth century A.D. the Roman empire in the west went totally to pieces, and its various provinces, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Britain, were taken over more or less securely by enterprising tribes of Germanic barbarians. Once again a political system, which had first seen the light in the Mediterranean world and which had been repeatedly tried out there, had given proof of its possession of considerable merits, only to exhibit shortcomings after a while absolutely fatal to the structure. If in the light of the human story we have thus far reviewed, unity, the principle of the oriental monarchy, and freedom, the principle of the city-state, appear to be equally necessary for the maintenance of the human race at its highest level of efficiency, must we not conclude

that a mysterious compulsion obliges man to swing forever, pendulum-wise, between the two?

The period which followed and during which the barbarians tried to make themselves at home in the western provinces of the former Roman empire is familiarly called the Middle Age. This long era (500 A.D. to 1200 A.D. approximately) is characterized by new beginnings after a catastrophic overthrow and necessarily exhibits a backward civilization and a backward political style. The chief, almost the only form of wealth was land, and land was in the possession of the nobility, which was of two kinds, lay and spiritual. This double group of rulers was very characteristic, for it expressed the central thought of the period to the effect that man was composed of body and soul and required for each element a separate set of governors. In virtue of their monopolization of wealth the effective political power was exercised by the landholders who, preëminently interested in war, spent their time in ever renewed petty combat with one another. The Middle Age is consequently a period crowded with the dull annals of feudal warfare. But theoretically at least, it should be noted, the idea of unity, in-

herited from the Roman empire, persisted. In the year 800 A.D. the greatest barbarian prince, a Frank known as Charles the Great or Charlemagne, re-assumed the title of Roman emperor; and ever after a rather shadowy German successor claimed the same dignity. In the face of the medieval actualities these medieval Roman emperors, so-called, counted for little and oblige us but slightly to qualify our assertion that the Middle Age, politically considered, was a formative period during which a primitive fighting nobility held sway. From a minute scrutiny of this system we, who are taking note of the forms of government developed in highly civilized areas, have nothing to learn.

Far more important than the sketchy temporal unity represented by the nominal Roman emperor was the spiritual unity represented by the Christian Church under its supreme head, the pope. The Christian Church had come to the front beginning with the second century A.D., and after gaining the recognition of the Roman state had succeeded in having all other religions condemned, outlawed, and driven underground. Thus not very long before the barbarians inundated the Roman empire the Christian Church became a universal power; and when the Roman empire crumbled like a house built on sand, this youthful institution remained upright and intact. In further evidence of its unimpaired vigor it

so completely overawed the German conquerors that it persuaded them to give up their pagan faith and meekly enter its fold. In this manner when, out of the chaos produced by the invasions, the different nations which we still have in western Europe, the Italians, the French, the Germans, the English, the Spaniards, and the rest began to take shape, they found themselves in spiritual touch with one another through the possession of a common faith and a common church. Without the least doubt it was this circumstance which chiefly accounts for the gradual creation of a new, a west-European civilization; and further, it is clear that it is this possession of a common spiritual foundation which has enabled the western peoples, in spite of national differences and consequent innumerable jars, to march forward with considerable steadiness on a common highway toward a common destiny.

From the welter of medieval energies and institutions there began gradually to detach itself something which represents a political innovation and is of supreme importance for all the subsequent centuries, the national state. When, around the year 1000 A.D., trade began to revive in western Europe, restoring many old and creating countless new towns, the European peoples slowly lifted themselves above the backward agrarian level of civilization which had conditioned their life hitherto and began to prac-

tise the many diverse and enriching forms of human activity appropriate to an urban mode of life. Before long the forward driving town-dwellers could no longer be content with the feudal governing system, devised not for them but for a society of agricultural serfs. They rose in rebellion against the landed aristocracy and after a prolonged conflict succeeded in winning, in more or less complete form, the right of self-government. In this struggle the king, as himself a landlord, in fact the landlord-in-chief, often had an active sympathy with his threatened barons; but, in case he had any intelligence at all, he quickly discovered that by siding with the towns he would receive their financial support and be enabled to free himself from the humiliating subjection in which his nobles held him. The towns in their turn were pleased, in the interest of their trade, with the extension of the king's law and the king's police power, and were not slow to develop an enthusiasm for the incumbent of the throne as the most effective instrument for putting an end to feudal lawlessness. As the towns of the same nation had, in addition to their common material interests, a common speech and common customs, they came to develop a common national sentiment of which the king was the visible symbol. In this way there took shape, slowly of course and with frequent setbacks, the national monarchies of Europe, more particularly those of

France, Spain, and England. Germany and Italy, for reasons which cannot be developed here, in this regard lagged behind their neighbors to the west. The period following the Middle Age is usually called the Renaissance. But if we call it the Modern Age — conceding the Renaissance to be merely an early phase of modernity — we gain the advantage of regarding the whole political development from the end of the Middle Age to the present as constituting a single era with numerous sub-divisions. And by thus simplifying the periodization of European history we score the additional gain of being able to declare that the novel political institution, the national state, which began first to define itself in connection with the birth of the towns, has dominated the European situation ever since and may even be said to have come in recent generations to dominate the world.

The remainder of this study reduces itself therefore to an examination of the successive phases of the national state. In its first phase, as we have just learned, it presented itself to view as a monarchy with the monarch engaged in organizing a suitable system of justice and administration and favored in

this program by the towns and opposed by his barons. So steady, in spite of occasional defeats, was the progress made by the king in completing the royal organization that around the year 1500 he had pretty much overawed the nobility and so greatly increased his financial returns from the towns that he was becoming absolute. This, as already said, was more particularly the case with the kings of Spain, France, and England. If we take a glance at Spanish sovereigns such as Ferdinand and Isabella and their grandson, Emperor Charles V, or at a French sovereign such as Francis I, or at English sovereigns such as Henry VIII and his daughter, Queen Elizabeth, we notice at once that they strike a proud and autocratic attitude by no means characteristic of their medieval predecessors. They signify that in the sixteenth century the autocratic state was in process of formation; and in the course of the seventeenth century it came to its logical completion, though only in two of the above-named monarchies, in France and Spain. In England for reasons to be presently set forth it was, while marching toward its culmination, overthrown. But before we take up that particular thread, it will be well to look at the completed absolute product and, for purposes of illustration, to concentrate on France.

The comparative labors of many predecessors at last enabled Louis XIV, who reigned over France

from 1642 to 1715, to cast off all remaining shackles and to stand forth in the full glory of unlimited power. Under him the erstwhile feudal fighters were reduced to a butterfly aristocracy content to bask in the rays of the royal luminary; the bourgeoisie of the towns paid the capriciously imposed taxes without the right of controlling the king as to their expenditure; and the ruler, with impressive effectiveness on the whole, put the finishing touches to the functions of a modern state as expressed by law-courts, by an army and navy, and by a body of trained administrators entrusted with the collection of taxes, the construction and maintenance of highways, and other similar services. Even the church had fallen to a certain extent under the ruler's influence, for he nominated all the bishops and abbots of the realm, avowing himself in return the dutiful son of the Catholic faith. Thus the national state, which was a political novelty in as much as it owed its existence to a more widely distributed national sentiment than the ancient world had ever exhibited, seemed, as soon as it got under way, to approximate to the historic form of the oriental monarchy. True, the Christian Church refused to identify Louis XIV with God or to look upon him as other than a mortal man; but it did not hesitate to declare him to be the anointed of the Lord and to proclaim that he ruled by divine right. In view of the absolutism at

which the national monarchy aimed and which in France and Spain it actually achieved, it seems permissible to maintain that, as soon as the national monarchy pursued the end of a close and superlative unity, it steered, quite unconsciously of course, into the form already evolved thousands of years before in the cradle areas of civilization.

If the political development of Europe had rested here, it would have done no more than produce with relatively unimportant variations an ancient piece already frequently revived on the stage of history, only after a certain space to be again withdrawn. But at this juncture occurred a break in government tradition of vast importance, since it has made possible those developments in our recent civilization of which we are perhaps most proud. The break occurred in England and in the very century — the seventeenth — which saw Louis XIV mount to his brilliant apogee. What happened in England was that when the middle classes (the townsmen) saw that the king refused to take account of their wants and wishes, they rose against him resolved to take the reins out of his hands. They showed a much more independent spirit than the corresponding

classes of France first, because the movement of commerce and industry having gone much farther in England than in the neighbor-land across the channel, the middle classes were a much stronger factor in the commonwealth; and second, because these same classes had adopted a radical form of Protestantism, called Puritanism, which brought them into violent collision with the religiously conservative king. Mutterings and criticisms led at last to an outbreak, and after a long civil war the king, Charles I, was defeated and executed (1649). But the Puritan middle classes, though victorious, could find no workable form of government; and the situation of the country continued in dangerous flux until by a series of measures adopted just before and after the year 1700 a remarkable compromise was effected, usually called the constitutional or parliamentary monarchy.

Under this system the sovereign power is exercised by a parliament composed of representatives of the English people. Not only does the parliament levy taxes and enact laws, but the ministry or cabinet, representing the majority party of the parliament, exercises the executive authority in the name of the king. The king is not removed from the constitutional structure. Indeed he is conceded an exalted social position, but most of his functions have been taken over by the cabinet, which is in effect an execu-

tive committee of the sovereign parliament. The innovation represented by this system consists not so much in the creation of a popular government—the ancient city-states had in this respect led the way—but in the creation of a popular government representative not of a limited city but of a whole nation. The representatives assembled in parliament came, whether appointed or elected, from all parts of England and brought the needs and wishes of their respective districts to the bar of the house. Representation was on a national scale and was consequently inspired by a more genuinely national spirit than in the days when the king alone spoke for the nation. But what was even more significant from the point of view of this study of government through the ages, a very genuine attempt was made to compose the ancient quarrel between unity and freedom. For while representation on a national scale gave a voice in the government to the people, a small central executive, itself perpetually refreshed by contact with the people, exercised the power formerly held by the king and provided those elements of dignity, firmness, and continuity without which a government is doomed to a swift decline and a certain overthrow.

The English system of the constitutional monarchy, in which we hail a new and more adequate phase of the national state, was before long imi-

tated by France. In 1789 an irresistible revolution broke out in that country against the absolute monarchy, which under the weak successors of Louis XIV had become imbecile. When the monarchy went down before the popular assault and Louis XVI was beheaded (1793) after the precedent of Charles I, the country entered upon a chaotic period of experimentation which continued far into the nineteenth century. None the less through the abundant changes after 1789 ran as a golden thread the search for a government more truly national and representative than the old monarchy had been. What is called the Third Republic, which, founded in 1870, continues to this day, represents the last fruit of these passionate endeavors. Differing in many important details from the English system, it strictly resembles that system in the circumstance that it signifies an attempt, more or less successful, to find an adjustment between the legitimate demands of authority and liberty, or, to put it in another way, between the divergent claims of a strong state and a free people.

In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the constitutional solution indicated by these developments in England and France has con-

quered every society of Europe, large or small, either by peaceful or revolutionary means. But why fix our gaze exclusively on Europe? When, in the eighteenth century, the United States of America came to birth as a result of a revolt from Great Britain, the new nation facing Europe from across the Atlantic at once adopted a modification of the same system particularly suited to its geographical immensity and equalitarian social structure. Some decades later, on proclaiming their independence of the mother country, the colonies of Spain and Portugal, to the south of the United States, yielded in their turn to the ruling current of opinion and proclaimed themselves constitutional republics. Indeed so extraordinary has the prestige of this constitutional device proved that it has traveled around the world causing Japan, China, and other societies at the antipodes of Europe to reorganize or try to reorganize on the fashionable European basis. Of the present worldwide popularity of the system there cannot be the least doubt. Nor is this popularity at all irrational or bewildering. It springs from the fact that all the self-conscious peoples of the earth have been won over to the European creed of nationalism and passionately crave the national state. But they crave it in its most recent form, desiring it, on the one hand, to be responsive to the popular will, and, on the other, to possess a suffi-

ciently powerful executive to make the voice of the nation heard among the other nations of the world.

How the forces of nationalism have been quickened and multiplied by the Industrial Revolution with its labor saving machinery and its improved means of communication as represented by the railroad, the steamboat, the telegraph, the telephone, and the radio cannot be developed here. The amazing transformations in every walk of life effected by these agencies are, however, very germane to our theme, since it was solely their compelling magic that drew Asia and Africa into the arms of Europe, setting the whole world at last to dancing to the same tune. It has become a commonplace to say that the earth is much smaller than it once was and that all its peoples have been brought into a single family of interdependent members. And all these vast changes, effected with dangerous precipitation in the course of a very few decades, have opened engaging prospects, it is true, but have also created extremely grave risks and problems. Granting that the goal of the mechanico-industrial movement is beyond our ken and limiting our curiosity to our particular problem, we cannot fail to notice that a serious doubt may be entertained touching the suitability of the national state in its prevailing constitutional form for our modern world cemented into an economic unity never before conceived by means

of oil-driven passenger ships, airplanes, international banking, mass production, and all our other boasts of progress.

The present crisis can be very impressively set forth by reference to the World War (1914-18). For the World War was at bottom nothing other than the wild scramble of the great national states of Europe for the lands and resources of the earth held in possession (and so withheld from use) by such feeble, backward, and disorganized peoples as had not already been brought under European domination. In this struggle, conducted with unrivaled ferocity and all the destructive resources of modern science and machinery, the European peoples engaged one another to the point of exhaustion which, had the war lasted much longer, might well have been the prelude to extinction. At any rate, in view of the increased facilities for wholesale slaughter created since 1918, the extinction of Europe and its civilization is the not improbable prospect of the renewal of the late conflict. And here the question arises: Can the outbreak be avoided under the existing system of national states? Will they not be irresistibly impelled to again try conclusions as soon as the lure of possible material gains silences the voice of fear? The point is that, while the national state achieves the combination of a free people and a strong government, and that, while under this sys-

tem the governments have become responsible to the people in domestic matters, it is yet true that they have remained essentially irresponsible in the foreign field. Nor is this all. The national sentiment of the peoples has reached such an inflamed form that the peoples themselves balk at any agreement or legal provision, by virtue of which a check might be placed on their volition and they be hindered from pursuing with all their might a course dictated by a narrow self-interest. From the angle of criticism here suggested there is then a flaw in the national state of our day due to the chaotic character of international relations; but, as reflection will at once show, this confusion is not so much due to imperfect governmental devices as to the particular state of mind of the peoples themselves. The unbridled nationalism which they one and all cultivate causes them to reject any limitation put on their pursuit of success and happiness. They worship what they call their sovereignty and regard it as sacrosanct.

Let us agree that the danger here glanced at has recently attracted wide attention. On the conclusion of the World War the head of our government, President Wilson, went so far as to declare its removal to be his chief concern. He championed and succeeded in instituting a kind of world reference body called the League of Nations. Unfortunately this institution came to birth with certain obvious defects. Not only that, on second thoughts, the

United States refused to accept it, but the victors in the late war succeeded in converting President Wilson's world organization into a mutual guarantee of the plunder amassed as a result of the struggle. Above all, not a single member of the League was willing to abate by a jot or tittle his ancient claim to sovereignty. Being a session of jealously sovereign states the League of Nations is privileged to debate, persuade, and cajole, but it cannot exercise compulsion. As a result the national fervors have chalked up the same boiling temperatures since 1918 as before; more, as the vast armaments on land and sea prove, the mutual suspicions among the powers, great and small, continue unabated and are therefore just as likely to produce another outbreak as the similar conditions before 1914. Or, to be fair, almost as likely. For it would be unjust to acknowledge that the existence of a world body, even so feeble as the one at Geneva, does make possible the bringing of a vexatious issue in the foreign field before a tribunal; and the attendant appeal to public opinion is indubitably bound to slow up the decision for war and consequently to operate in favor of peace.

It is not the purpose of this essay, which is purely expository, to deal in political therapy. The writer

is content to utilize the space at his disposal in order to present a political retrospect and to define an existing political problem. He is therefore, in so far as his function of analyst is concerned, neither for nor against the League of Nations. What interests him and what he thinks worth saying in the philosophical mood appropriate to a vast survey of human experience is that civilized government has always been confronted with the choice between liberty and unity and that undoubtedly the issue has not changed for us who are alive today. If the existing crisis has not been misstated, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that by abusing the freedom they enjoy the national states may slip into ever greater economic and political lawlessness to find themselves at last confronted with a hopeless chaos. On the other hand, such a world union as is indicated by the League of Nations may, should it become effective, induce a gradual quietism which is the certain harbinger of decline. Well, to live at all is to be confronted with dangers and to be obliged to make decisions. So it has been throughout the six thousand years of human history here reviewed and so it shall ever be. No one can say with assurance what is the best course for mankind to pursue at this moment, but every one can at least resolve to utilize every available bit of information and maintain a brave front as he marches toward the unknown future.

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MAN AND HIS WORLD

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IV. Making Mankind

1. THE ORIGIN OF MAN AND HIS RACES.....*Clark Wissler*
2. PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES.....*Fay-Cooper Cole*
3. THE GROWTH OF INSTITUTIONS.....*William M. McGovern*
4. THE CIVILIZATIONS OF PREHISTORY.....*Melville J. Herskovits*
5. MAN'S POLITICAL HISTORY.....*Ferdinand Schevill*

V. Society Today

1. THE ENERGY OF THE NEW WORLD.....*Edwin E. Slossom*
2. THE NEW ENERGIES AND THE NEW MAN.....*Walter Dill Scott*
3. THE FUTURE OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM.....*F. S. Deibler*
4. BUSINESS IN THE NEW ERA.....*W. E. Hotchkiss*
5. CONSUMERS IN THE MODERN WORLD.....*Stuart Chase*

VI. Society Tomorrow

1. TOWARDS ECONOMIC LIBERTY.....George Soule
2. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF TOMORROW.....Earl Dean Howard
3. MODERN INDUSTRY AND SOCIAL CONTROL.....Ralph E. Heilman
4. THE FUTURE OF URBAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT.....A. R. Hatton
5. CITIES TODAY AND TOMORROW.....W. L. Bailey

VII. Problems of Civilization

1. DOES CIVILIZATION SET US FREE?.....Ellsworth Huntington
2. WHAT'S MACHINERY DOING TO US?.....Whiting Williams
3. RACE PROBLEMS AND MODERN SOCIETY.....Jean Toomer
4. FEMINISM AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.....Charlotte Perkins Gilman
5. THE BIRTH RATE AND AMERICAN STANDARDS.....Thomas D. Eliot

VIII. Civilization and Enjoyment

1. YOUTH AND HUMAN CONSERVATION.....Alvin Johnson
2. WOMEN IN THE MODERN WORLD.....Suzanne La Follette
3. SOCIETY AND THE HUMAN BODY.....Morris Fishbein
4. THE COMMON MAN'S PLEASURES.....Lawrence Martin
5. THE ARTS AND MODERN ENJOYMENTS.....Maurice Lesemann

IX. Art and the Worth While

1. THE VALUE OF LIVING.....Robert Morss Lovett
2. ART AND REALITY.....Charles Johnston
3. WHAT IS ART?.....Llewellyn Jones
4. MODERN PROSE.....Zona Gale
5. MODERN POETRY.....Edith Franklin Wyatt

X. Five Arts

1. THE MODERN DRAMA.....Waldo Frank
2. THE DANCE.....Mark Turbyfill
3. MODERN MUSIC.....Karlton Hackett
4. MODERN ART.....C. J. Bulliet
5. ARCHITECTURE.....W. Roger Greeley

XI. Religious Life

1. RELIGIONS AND RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA.....E. Sapir
2. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE.....Shailer Mathews
3. RELIGION AND PERSONALITY.....Ernest F. Tittle
4. THE SPIRIT.....Rufus M. Jones
5. FACT AND FAITH.....Francis J. McConnell

XII. The World Man Lives In

1. THREE WAYS TO THE WORLD.....Bertrand Russell
2. THE WORLD MAN LIVES IN.....M. C. Otto
3. THE MEANING OF SCIENCE.....D. T. Howard
4. THE PRACTICAL APPROACH TO THE WORLD.....Richard T. Ely
5. THE NEW UNIVERSE.....Baker Brownell









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